

A
BRIEF DISPLAY
OF THE
French Counsels.

Representing the
Wiles and Artifices
OF
FRANCE,
In Order to Ruine the
CONFEDERATES,
AND

The most Probable Ways to Prevent Them.

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T H E
Secret Intrigues
 O F T H E
 COURT of *FRANCE*.

THat which we call the Policy of a State, very nearly resembles the Oeconomy of a Private Family : the Ministers and Treasury-Officers of the One, are like the Steward and Caterer in the Other. And therefore it was, that an Ancient Author made no difficulty to say, *That a Politick Court supported the State*, in like manner as Oeconomy kept up the Grandeur and good Discipline of a single House. And as there are two sorts of Oeconomy ; the one Honest, and Praiseworthy, the other Mechanick and Sordid, which a Lunatick Person makes use of to pile up Riches any manner of way, thereby rendring himself odious to all Men of worth, 'tis very near the same thing with Policy, which may be also distinguish'd into two Classes, the one Lawful, the other Illegitimate. Which latter having only usurp'd the Name of Policy as Usurpation has done, conceals it self under the Appellation of Conquest, On the other side, True Policy is not only beneficial but commendable,

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and permitted by the Laws of God and Man. She is the Daughter of Prudence, and the Prince that makes use of her Profitably and Sincerely, wins to himself by that means, the Admiration of Foreigners, as well as the Love and Respect of his own Subjects; and frequently merits the Epithetes and Surnames of Great, and Wise. On the other side, False Policy is meerly slye cunning, wilely Craft, or in a word downright Knavery and Cheat, always covetous of other Mens Goods, leaving no Stone unturn'd to aggrandize it self at any rate whatever, come what will come of it, and tacking, according to the Proverb, *The Foxes to the Lyons Skin*. And these two different sorts of Politicks, are as two Opposite Mirrours, that openly display the Inside of Princes, and shew their vertuous or wicked Inclinations. Nor can I forbear divulging to the World that the Court of *France*, ever since the Death of *Hen. IV.* has very much studied the Practice of this same false Policy, on purpose to endeavour the Aggrandizing of her self by Cheat and Usurpation. And it may be said to have had extraordinary Success in this last Reign of *Lewis XIV.* under a false Idea of Conquest, having thereby augmented his Revenues to above two Thirds, and his Dominions above a Third Part; as might be easily prov'd, were it not visible to all his Neighbours, or if his Neighbours were not sensible of it by woful Experience. And I do farther averr, that it was almost impossible for *France* to aggrandize her self, and every way to enlarge her Dominions as now we see her Limits extended, or for her Monarch to raise himself to the present Pinacle of Grandeur, had she not made a smart use of Violence, Usurpation & Breach of Faith.

To

To which I may moreover add, the Hypocrisie and Deceit which the King of *France* has us'd in these latter times of Religion, on purpose to trample under foot and appropriate to himself the Estates of his Subjects; and the Treacherous Leagues he has made with Foreign Princes the more easily to deceive 'em, and lay hold upon favourable Opportunities to invade their Territories, when least they dream'd of any such thing, but lay reposing under the Security of a Peace; and all this to make himself Master of their Dominions, when it was not in the Power of their Allies to assist 'em. Formerly indeed the *Romans*, who were Pagans, made use of the same Maxims and the same Stratagems to grow great upon their Neighbours, and to make themselves universal Masters of the World. And now *Lewis XIV.* believes he cannot fail of obtaining the same Success in his vast Expectations by treading the same laudable and worthy Steps.

We have seen, that since the Church-Men, for most part greedy Heapers of Wealth, have intruded into the Ministry of the Court of *France*, they have instill'd into the Government Sentiments like their own; that is to say, Sentiments of Usurpation and Covetousness, and a Liberty to do whatever they please: and as it is usually seen, that a Master endeavours to bring up his Disciples in his own Sentiments, and to be of his humour; so the Cardinals of *Richlieu* and *Mazarine* inspir'd into *Lewis XIII.* and *Lewis XIV.* eager Desires to make themselves Great by Usurpation, infusing into 'em by all the ways imaginable, that a Prince was always cry'd up in his Undertakings, let 'em be good or bad provided that they prosper'd in their Enterprizes,

because the People adore, and like the Sun-flower, turn toward the Glitter of Prosperity. That it was neither necessary nor beneficial for a King to be good, sincere or merciful, only that 'twas sufficient to appear so; in regard it was frequently dangerous to be so indeed; and for that it became a King above all things, to be always his own Master, by acting quite the contrary, when his Affairs requir'd it, whether it were to make himself Great, or for his own Honour; seeing that Men judge rather by the Eyes than by the Hands; every body having the Liberty to behold and consider the Actions of Kings, but not to handle 'em; that is, to examine and dive into 'em; those are Mysteries conceal'd, like the Oracles of the *Pagans* in times of Old. *Lewis* the XIV. is so strongly perswaded that the People are only taken with Appearances, and gaudy Shew, that he affects no more then only to appear outwardly honest, sincere and Religious; when in reality and at the bottom of his Soul there is nothing of all this in him, as has been seen by all the World, ever since his first coming to the Crown. Seeing there is no better way to judge of the Inward Heart then by the Constancy of a Mans outward Actions; then which there can be nothing more plain, if we consider the Opressions, the Exacti-
ons, the Cruelties committed during the whole Course of his Reign, as also his Usurpations upon his Neighbours. Nor can the more Moderate of his Subjects alledge any thing fairer in his Excuse, then only this, that his Design is to aggrandize himself; and that this is the surest Means to render himself formidable as well to his Friends as to his Enemies both at home and abroad. Therefore to
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become Great according to *Lewis* the Fourteenth's Method, there was a Necessity for him to fail of his Word and Faith, so soon as he found the Keeping of either prejudicial to Him ; to break his Alliances concluded and solemnly sworn with his Neighbours and nearest Relations, so soon as an Opportunity presented it self to invade their Territories. It may be said, that this Monarch has made an excellent Use of Cardinal *Mazarine's* Lessons. For that same Prelate being both Crafty and Cunning, and somewhat of a Cheat besides, fail'd not frequently to lay before his Prince the Example of *Alexander VI.* who notwithstanding his being the Vicar of Christ, never forbore to falsify his Word, when he found there was a necessity for it : tho' never any man promis'd things with more solemn Oaths, and his Deceit prov'd successful to him : Nor was *Ferdinand*, King of *Castile* and *Aragon*, beholding for his Grandeur to any thing, so much as to his Breach of Faith. The Emperour, *Charles V.* was always wont to swear *By the Faith of a Man of Honour*, when he had a Design to act contrary to what he promis'd. This *Mazarine* maintain'd as a Maxim never to be contradicted, and that it behov'd a Sovereign to observe this Rule, if ever he design'd Grandeur and Puissance, never to stick to, or govern himself according to the establish'd Laws of a Monarchy, when they agreed not with his present Interest, and the Politicks requisite to enlarge his Power : because the same Laws that were made in former Ages, were good and wholesome at that time, but could not always so continue. As much as to say, that a King may break and trample over the Fundamental Law; of a Realm, when they concur not with his Ambition and his

Inclination to plunder his Neighbours, and ruin his Subjects. For this reason it is, that for some Years since, we have seen *Lewis XIV.* practise all these Maxims with a vehement Swing, but with little Circumspection; consulting neither the Laws of his Kingdom, nor the Prerogatives of other Princes. However observing this Rule, never to threaten beforehand, but to execute his Design at the same time that he set forth his *Manifesto*, that his Adversary might have no time or leisure to oppose his Torrent.

Moreover, Men judge of the Inclinations of Princes by the Ministers and Great Personages that are in favour near their Persons: and the Deceas'd Prince of *Orange*, *William* the First, was wont to say in his time, with great Reason and upon solid Grounds, That a True Judgment might be given of the Natural Disposition of *Philip II.* King of *Spain* by the Cruelties which the Duke of *Alva*, his Chief Minister committed without fear of punishment in the *Low-Countries*. If it may be lawful to say the same thing of *Lewis XIV.* What Sentiment ought we to have of that Prince? If we look narrowly into the Inclinations and Proceedings of the Ministers that have serv'd him all the whole time of his Reign, to begin from *Mazarine* till this very time, we shall find 'em to have been all Birds of Prey, and most Cruel and Insatiable Blood-suckers of the People. Cardinal *Richlieu* was the First who laid the Foundations of this Policy now practis'd by the Court of *France*: For that same Minister abusing the Simplicity of *Lewis XIII.* made himself absolute Master in the Kingdom. He was naturally Violent, nor could he endure any Companion; all
 People

People must submit to Him; He Exil'd, and Imprison'd; he cunningly got rid of the Baron *d'Ancre*, of Monsieur *de Thou* and *Cinqmarc*; chose rather to establish the Security of his Person and his Fortune by Rigour and Violence, then to hazard either by Clemency, or by too much Complacency with those that were belov'd by the King, and so he triumph'd over all, even over the Protestant Party, which was very numerous in *France*, and which he endeavour'd to oppress by all manner of ways, against the Edicts of Pacification, and ruin'd 'em all by ruining *Rochell*; which that he might the better bring to pass, he deceiv'd the *English* and *Hollanders*, who in good Policy were bound to have ventur'd all to have preserv'd that Important Place, which was another State within the State it self, and was a kind of Sanctuary and Place of Retreat for all the Malecontents of the Court. And it may be said that the Loss of that City was the Source of all the Calamities that befell *Charles* the I. King of *England*. For *France* not only rais'd the Tempest in the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*: sent Money into *England* to Kindle the Fire, and feed the Civil War, but encourag'd *Oliver* to lay hands upon the Person of the King: in hopes at that time to bring down the Power of that Formidable Monarchy by Sea, as is easie to judge by the Entertainment which the Court of *France* gave to the Princes of the Royal Family of *England* in that Conjunction.

Moreover after what a Treacherous manner did *France* act with the Old Duke of *Lorraine*, that he might have an Advantage to usurp his Country. For Cardinal *Richlieu* under pretence of Friendship drew him to *Lion*, where *Lewis* the XIII. then lay with

a Powerful Army, under a false pretence, that it behov'd him to come and pay his Respects to that Monarch. Thither the Prince, suspecting nothing but honest and fair dealing, repair'd, and was receiv'd at first with Extraordinary Honour and Civility, not only by the King and the Cardinal, but by all the Grandees of the Court, who were order'd to treat him Splendidly. But that was but the Bait to draw him on: for when the poor Duke, laden with the Honours of the Court, and satisfi'd with his Kind Reception, was about to return home, he was stopp'd by the Cardinal's Order; nor could he procure his Release, but by delivering back into the hands of *France* a great part of his Territories, which afterwards occasion'd the loss of all the rest, under pretence that the Prince was an active stirring Soldier, and devoted to the House of *Austria*. But indeed, because the Policy of the Court of *France* could not brook so near her a Sovereign Prince, whose Territories were a Goad in her sides, and might serve for an Inlet into *France* out of *Germany*.

Now in regard it is the Policy of a Minister of State, to the end he may be lamented and desir'd after his Death, to justify his Conduct in the Eyes of the People, *Richlieu* was willing to have for his Successour a Minister that should out-do him, and finish what he had begun: therefore he recommended Cardinal *Mazarine*, an *Italian* by Birth, and of mean Extraction, naturally covetous, and deceitful in whatever he undertook, covering himself with the Foxes Skin, the better to deceive others and play his own part, not caring for whatever People said of him, nor what Mischief was laid to his charge,

charge, so he could bring about his Grand Design, which was to get Money; so that all the whole time of his Ministry he was call'd *The Horsleece of the People*. By good luck, he came to his Ministry during the Regency of a Credulous Queen and a Young King, whom he Christen'd, that he might acquire to himself the more Respect and Veneration. It was easie for him both to imprint in the mind of this Young Prince, and instill into him Precepts according to his own Humour, which were to Sacrifice every thing to his own Interest; Honour, Word, Alliances, Edicts, Promises, Oaths, when all these Vertues were opposite to his Aggrandizement: That it behov'd a Prince that would be great, to accommodate himself to the Necessity of Affairs: that it was sufficient for a Prince to be Vertuous, when he could not dispence with being otherwise: that it was good and commendable to know what was just and honest, but not always expedient to practise it. That there were some Vices which no way hinder'd a Prince from Governing well: that *Solomon* was subject to Women, yet look'd upon to be the Greatest and Wisest of all Kings: for that there is always a Distinction to be made between the Domestick and Publick Life of a Prince, his Royal and his Private Vertues. Cardinal *Mazarine* having thus found out the Genius of his Disciple, 'twas an easie thing for him to imprint in his Mind these New Lectures of Policy, which afterwards serv'd for a Basis and Foundation to the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* who together with the Queen-Mother, out of pure Gratitude deliver'd into the Cardinal's hands the Keys of all the Favours and Honours of his Kingdom, upheld him
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in despite of all the Princes of the Blood, and notwithstanding all the earnest Importunities of the Parliament and People, underwent all the Dangers of a Civil War for some Years; and not being able to live without the Cardinal's Presence, the King sent for him twice out of Banishment, and receiv'd him with those Honours that were no way due to him, even to the going several Leagues to meet him, and to express his excessive Joy for his Return by mutual Embraces. I shall not here enlarge upon the Authority and Power which that Italian Cardinal had in *France*; 'tis sufficient to say, That the King, during his Minority, had all the Deference and Respect for that Prelate which a Son could have for a Father, and that it was the Cardinal who only reign'd in *France*. In lieu of which, he promis'd the King and Queen, That he would make him the Greatest Monarch in *Europe*. In order whereunto, he was to do Two things. The First, was, To heap up Treasure, and augment his Revenues. The Second, was, To lay aside all Scruples of Conscience, when the main Concern was, the Aggrandizing his Kingdoms. The first Tryal of Skill which the Cardinal made in the behalf of *France*, was during his Nunciature when the Peace was concluded at *Chirasco*, where the crafty wilely Minister deceiv'd the Pope his Master, the Princes of *Italy*, and the King of *Spain*, in favour of the French Court; and so well Cully'd the Duke of *Savoy*, that he wrested out of his Hands that Important Place of *Pignerol*, to deliver it into the Hands of *France*; which was an Acquisition that all the King's Money and Power could not obtain before, though he had had an aking Tooth for it a long time,

time. And this same Cheat, and cunning piece of Knavery it was, though the Court of *France* paid for it in good Ready-Money, that purchas'd him the Good-Will of all the Court of *France*, and the Friendship of Cardinal *Richlieu*; which *Mazarine* still improv'd, and kept tight by Presents which he sent him out of *Italy*, from time to time: and so well he understood to inveigle all the rest, that he was call'd into *France* in the Year 1639. where, a little time after his arrival, the Death of Father *Joseph* the Capuchin, became the Life of *Mazarine*. This Capuchin was he who serv'd Cardinal *Richlieu* in all his Intrigues both within and without the Kingdom; and who was sent into *England*, during the Reign of *Charles I.* to sow Division, and raise a Civil War, which cost that Nation Rivers of Blood. So that the Capuchin had good reason to say, at his return out of *England*, That he had set Fire to those Sparkles which would kindle such a Flame as would not easily be extinguish'd; in Acknowledgment of which, the Court of *France* promis'd to get him a Cardinal's Cap to cover his Bald Pate. But he was not so happy as to see himself clad in Purple, Death seizing him in the Habit of a Saint of a Franciscan. After which, the Court of *France* bent all her Solicitations in favour of *Mazarine*. To which Cardinal *Richlieu* was the more willing to give his Consent, as being glad to see himself succeeded in the Ministry by a Person of no less Rank than he was; who, though he were inferiour to him in Birth, yet was his Equal in Dignity, Both Princes of the Church; yet not without some secret Jealousies between 'em. But the King and Queen favour'd him, in Consideration of the Business of *Pignerol*, and his declar'd

declar'd Devotion for the Interests of *France*; so that he was advanc'd to the Purple toward the End of the Year 1641. Immediately after his Promotion, he went to take Possession of the Principality of *Sedan*, which the two Cardinals had wrested from the House of *Bouillon* by Violence; forasmuch as that Principality border'd too near upon *France*, and also durst make Head against it, but at a time when *France* was not so powerful as now it is. 'Tis true, that the Duke of *Bouillon*, *Frederick Maurice*, who was then Sovereign of the Place, had very much contributed to the loss of it, by changing his Religion, upon his marrying the Countess of *Berghe*. For being at that time Governor of *Maestricht*, and in the Service of the States of the United Provinces, whose Protection warranted his Territories from all Assaults of *France*; yet finding himself no longer acceptable to the Prince of *Orange*, his near Kinsman, nor to the States themselves, he desir'd leave to lay down his Commission and retire to *Sedan*, there to lead a private and quiet Life, and wholly to employ himself within his Principality to the Propagation of the Roman Religion, which he had embrac'd; in which Employment he made some Progress during some Years. After which, he met with Business much more considerable, by reason of the Refuge which he gave to the Count of *Soissons*, one of the Princes of the Blood, and who was retir'd in discontent from the Court of *France*, by reason of some Quarrel with Cardinal *Richlieu*; and this Count was follow'd by the Duke of *Guise*. Now the Duke of *Bouillon* thought to have avoided all Occasion of Trouble, by giving notice to the Court of *France* of the Retreat of those two Princes: but the Cardinal, a subtle and crafty Politician,

Politician, seeing he could not hinder it, persuaded the King to approve what he had done, till an Opportunity of Revenge presented it self, as it appear'd not long after by the King's taking the Field, in order to besiege the City of *Sedan*. Nor had the Duke, at that time, any other way to preserve himself, but by clapping up a League in all haste with the Emperor and *Spain*, by which they were to assist him against *France* with Seven thousand Men, and Two hundred thousand Crowns in Ready-Money. But the Emperor only perform'd his Promise, and sent him some Forces under the Conduct of General *d'Amboi*. Nevertheless, the Germans, together with about Four thousand Men which the Duke of *Bouillon* had rais'd at his Charges, defeated the French Army under the Command of *Chatillon*; the Fruit of which Victory was, the Taking of *Doncheri*, not far from *Sedan*. And this lucky Beginning of the Duke made the Court of *France* begin to look about 'em, as being afraid lest that petty War should kindle a greater. Thereupon the Duke of *Brezé* was sent the same way with Five and twenty thousand Men; and the Cardinal persuaded the King, and all the Court, to march as far as *Retbel*. But unfortunately for the Duke of *Bouillon*, *Lamboy* quitted him, with all his Men, being order'd to march to the Relief of *Aire*, which the French had besieg'd. So that the Duke finding himself constrain'd to shut himself up within the Walls of *Sedan*, and seeing himself besieg'd, began to think of an Accommodation, so much the rather, because the Count of *Soissons*, who had been the Occasion of the War, had shot himself in the Head with a Pistol Bullet. This was no more then what *France* desir'd, as having
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at that time a War with *Spain*, several discontented Princes and Lords within the Kingdom, who waited only for an Opportunity to rile, and the Siege of *Aire* begun; uncertain therefore of Success, and having so many Irons in the Fire, she durst not venture the besieging of *Sedan*, which they were convinc'd that the Duke would defend with the last drop of his Blood; besides that he had Great Men that took his Part at Court, as not being willing that Place should fall into the King's Hands, which, upon many Occasions, serv'd 'em for a Retiring Place. Wherefore being also no less desirous to spite Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was look'd upon as the first Author of that War, they perswaded the King, who was advanc'd as far as *Meziere*, to hearken to an Accommodation. Thereupon the Cardinal seeing it was not to be avoided, offer'd his Mediation to the Duke of *Bouillon*, to the end that the Affair passing through his Hands, the Duke might think himself beholding to him for this Kindness, though his Design were to ruine the Duke some other way. To which purpose, he made great Protestations to the Duke, who took all for Gold that glister'd; and being but a new Catholick, believ'd that whatever that same Prelate and Prince of the Church assur'd him, was sincere, and truly honest. But whatever Protestation his Eminency made, he had always a Reserve which he kept close in his Breast: and the better to cover his Design, and shew his Good-Will, he would needs enter into a Treaty, as a Security for the Duke's Sincerity; and a Gauranty on the King's behalf, That His Majesty would perform the Agreement to the least Tittle of the Stipulation, the better to lull the Duke asleep, and draw him

him to the Court. Thereupon the Articles being sign'd on both Sides, the Duke went forthwith to pay his Respects to the King at *Meziere*, where he was entertain'd with Court-Holy-Water, fair Words and Complements, and receiv'd by the King, the Cardinal, and all the Lords, with all the Honours imaginable due to his Dignity. The Cardinal also gave him large Demonstrations of Friendship, and made him extraordinary Promises, on purpose to engage him to have a Confidence in him, and make him believe that he had forgot the injurious *Manifesto* which the Duke had printed against him. Yet all this was nothing else but Snare and Decoy. For his Eminency told the King, in the presence of all the Court, That he could not do better then to entrust an Army under the Command of the Duke of *Bouillon*, as one that so well deserv'd the Honour, seeing that with a handful of wretched Germans he had beaten the Army of *France*; so that there was nothing which he might not well expect from his Valour and Experience, when he should once come to Head the Valour of the French. This the Duke took in good earnest, and so fell into the Snare; and though he had been forewarn'd by the Cardinal's Enemies, that the more Affection and Kindness that Minister shew'd, the less he was to be trusted; yet he was so easily wrought upon, as to accept the Command of an Army in *Italy*; and that was the very Place where the Cardinal was desirous to keep him. For being in that Post, he forgot himself to that degree, as during the Sickness of *Lewis XIII.* to give the Duke of *Orleance* a Letter of Credence to be admitted into *Sedan*, together with the Queen-Mother, and the Children of *France*, under pretence of retiring
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thither after the King's Death, to avoid the Oppression of the Cardinal, tho' the Count of *d'Aubijcux*, who went to him in *Italy*, promis'd him with great Oaths and Imprecations, that he would never deliver the Letter, unless there should be an Absolute Necessity. But the King escap'd that Sickness, and the Cardinal having notice of every thing to the smallest Circumstance, gave him an account of every particular, and thought it a favourable Opportunity to revenge himself for what was past, and to put the Principality of *Sedan* into the Hands of *France* without the Effusion of Blood. For he seldom separated the Remembrance of an Injury and the desire of Revenge. It happen'd at the same time that the Duke of *Orleance* finding his Brother very Infirm and sickly, and believing that during the Minority of the Young King, when the Cardinal would have all the Power in his hands, he should lead but an ill life in the Court of *France*, and seeing himself expos'd to the Resentment of his Adversary, he be-thought himself of making a League with the *Spaniards* by the mediation of a Gentleman, whose Name was *Fourraile*, whom he sent to *Madrid*. But the Cardinal having got an Inkling of it, sent his Secretary *Charvigni*, privately to give the King notice of it, and in the mean time he left no Stone unturn'd to discover the Contents of the Treaty that had been concluded at *Madrid*; and he set so many Engines at work, that he found a way to get a Copy of it from some Secretary to the Duke of *Orleance*. So soon as he had read it, he sent it to the King by the same *Charvigni*, and order'd him to assure his Majesty that the Copy was drawn from the Original it self; and for this same Piece it was that

Cinqmarc

Cinqmarc and *du Thou* were apprehended, and that the King order'd his Brother the Duke of *Orleanse* to be very narrowly watch'd, who finding it Impossible for him to make his Escape out of *France*, took a Resolution to submit himself to the King's Mercy, and implore his Pardon; and wrote a very submissive Letter to the Cardinal, which he sent him by one of his Favourites; wherein he set forth his Repentance in very moving Expressions, and his desire to be beholding for the Favour of his Reconciliation with the King to his Eminency, who willingly embrac'd the Opportunity of gaining the Duke of *Orleanse*'s Friendship, and of having at his Beck an Instrument to ruine the Duke of *Bouillon*. Thereupon he made the Duke of *Orleanse*'s Peace with the King, upon Condition that he should deliver into his hands the Original of the Treaty. But the King's Brother protested that he had burn'd the Original, and had only kept a Copy sign'd with his own Hand, and Counter-sign'd by the Secretary of his Commands; by vertue of which Copy both *Cinqmarc* and *de Thou* were both arraign'd, and the Fatal End they came to is well known. But to return to the Duke of *Bouillon*, you are to understand that *Fontraille*, who was sent into *Spain* to conclude the Treaty, that he might bring it the sooner to pass, and imprint a higher Opinion of the Business in the Court of *Madrid*, would needs insert the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Name in the Treaty without his Knowledge; and promis'd that he should not only ratifie it, but allow *Sedan* for a Place of Refuge; tho' the Duke never ratify'd the Treaty, nor ever caus'd his Name to be inserted; but quite the contrary had always oppos'd it, when the Duke of *Orleanse*

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had formerly made some Overtures to him of the same nature. However there needed no more to ruine him ; so that the Cardinal dispatch'd away a Courier forthwith into *Italy*, with Orders for seizing his Person, which was done at *Casal* by the General Officers, who commanded under him, from whence he was conducted by a numerous Convoy to the Castle of *Pierre-en-Cize*. And there it was that the Duke first understood, That he had been comprehended in the Treaty of *Madrid*, of which the Duke of *Orleanse* had given him a Copy sign'd with his own Hand ; and that he at the same time had discover'd the Queen's and the Duke's Design to retire to *Sedan*, upon the King's Decease. The crafty Cardinal observ'd by this Confession how much he was fear'd and dreaded, which serv'd to render him more absolute then ever, and impower'd him to revenge himself of his Enemies more loftily and more inexorably. For whatever Excuse the Duke of *Bouillon* could make, and tho' it could never be prov'd that he ever sign'd or ratify'd the Treaty, or gave any order for the inserting of his Name therein, there was no other Choice for him to make, but either to lose his Head or his Principality of *Sedan*. Which was no more then what *France* had sought a long time, and for the bringing of which to pass, there was no foul Play which the Minister had not put in Practise, no Snare that he had not laid to entrap the Innocent. The Dutches of *Bouillon*, having notice of her Husband's Imprisonment, and of the danger he was in of his Life, sent her Sister in Law to Court, to let the Cardinal know, that if the Duke were put to death, she would deliver *Sedan* to the *Spaniards*, to which purpose she had already sent

sent to *Brussels* to solicit their Approach to the Town. But *Mademoiselle de Bouillon*, arriving at the Court of *France*, and understanding that *du Thou* had been condemn'd for only being privy to, and concealing *Cinqmarc's* Design, chang'd her note, and was so far from delivering the Dutchesse's Menaces to the Cardinal, according to her Instructions, that she told the Cardinal she had Orders to enter into a Negotiation, and to engage for the Life and Liberty of her Brother. This was that which the Cardinal expected, and therefore without giving her any time to recollect her self, the Treaty was concluded, That the Dutchesse should deliver *Sedan* to the King of *France*, and that the Duke her Husband should be put into possession of other Lands of equal value in the Kingdom; and that at the same time that the French Garrison should enter the Town, the Prisoner should be releas'd. Thereupon, Cardinal *Richlieu* not being able to go himself, sent his Coadjutour in the Ministry, who took possession of it, and secur'd it to all Intents and Purposes. Thus that Important City which had withstood the King, fell into his Hands, partly through the ill Conduct of the Duke of *Bouillon*, but chiefly through the Snares which the Policy of *France* laid for him, ever since he quitted his Religion and the Service of the States. For in good Policy they ought to have preserv'd that City which gave Protection to the Protestant Party.

The Death of the Cardinal happening in one and the same year, the Queen being declar'd Regent, and Duke of *Orleans* Chief of the Council, the Duke of *Bouillon* return'd to Court, flattering himself with being restor'd to his Dominions, consi-

dering that his Misfortune did not befall him, but for the good Services which he was ready to have done those Two Illustrious Persons, that now sat at the Helm of State, and who had engag'd him without his Knowledge. But when he came to Court, he only found a change of the Regency, but not of the Ministry, which was still cunning and wilely : For *Mazarine*, who succeeded *Richlieu* in the Government, out-did his Predecessor. He found that the Disciple knew more then the Master; that he had a double portion of Avarice and Self-Interest; that Italian Knavery had succeeded French Refinedness, and that he had no mind to let go the Prey which he already held fast in his Gripes, and for which he had labour'd conjoyn'tly with his Predecessour. 'Tis true, that when the Duke of *Bouillon* first arriv'd, he receiv'd a world of Complements from the Queen, the Duke of *Orleance*, and all the Court; but when he came to talk of Business, all that Courtship vanish'd, nor could he obtain so much as Audience either of the Queen or the Duke of *Orleance*, till at length by dint of Pressing Importunity he got so much favour, that the Abbot *de la Riviere*, a Favourite of *Orleance's* was appointed to conferr with him about his Pretensions; and that meerly to be ridd of him : *Bouillon* therefore seeing he could do no better, fell upon the Matter with the Abbot, and told him, That he was willing to fulfill the Treaty made with *Lewis XIII*, but that the Evacuation, the Verification in Parliament, and so many other Formalities absolutely requisite, would infallibly take up a tedious Space of several Years : therefore till all those Ceremonies were at an end, that 'twas but just that *Sedan* should be restor'd him

to

to be surrender'd back into the King's Hands, so soon as he should be put into Possession of the Equivalents: that considering the Present Posture of Affairs, he foresaw long Delays and infinite Cavils; whereas if *Sedan* were in his Hands, it would be look'd upon as the King's Business, no less then the Enlarging of *France* by the Acquisition of a Sovereignty, and a City of great Strength and Importance. That if these Reasons would not work upon the Queen nor Monsieur, he desir'd the Abbot to lay before'em, that the One or the Other might happen to dye before Things could be brought to that perfection, as to be fit to be put in Execution, which would inevitably prove the Ruine of his Family; and that they were engag'd as well in Honour as in Conscience not to expose him to that Extremity. To this he added, That tho' the Queen and the Duke had the least reason in the world to distrust his Words, nevertheless he offer'd to give his Children in Hostage, or to submit to whatever Precautions they desir'd to take, for the Security of the Young King. But this was like knocking at a deaf Man's door; for the Abbot, who had his Instructions, told him with a great many Complements, That he had only Orders to hear him; but that he would make a faithful Report of what he had said; adding with great Protestations, That it should be none of his Fault that he had not a favourable Answer: but that was a thing which was never intended. So that *Bouillon* finding that the Abbot never came at him more, resolv'd to address himself directly to the Queen and the Duke of *Orleans*: but both the One and the Other knew so well how to avoid meeting him, that he could

never find an Opportunity to speak to 'em. Which put him into a Rage, and caus'd him to let fall some hard words against the Queen and the Duke, as being too forgetful of what he had done for 'em. However *Bouillon*, unwilling to return Home without a positive Answer, apply'd himself again to the Abbot: but then he could never find the Abbot at home, his Servants having Orders still to deny him whenever *Bouillon* came to ask for him. Nay, it happen'd one day, that tho' he knew that the Abbot was at home, by certain Persons of Quality that waited in his Antichamber to speak with him, yet the Abbot was so unmannerly as to send out one of his Servants to tell him bluntly in the hearing of those Gentlemen, That the Abbot was gone abroad; which put the Duke of *Bouillon* into such a Rage, that he bid the Servant tell his Master, That had it not been for the Respect which he bore the Duke of *Orleanse*, he would have return'd him such a Treatment for his Sawciness, that should have stuck to him as long as he liv'd.

This Transport of Passion in the Duke made a great noise at Court, so that the Queen, and the Duke of *Orleanse* were glad of this pretence to ridd themselves of a Person whose presence continually Reproach'd 'em with his past Services, and the Cardinal propos'd in Council a second seizure of his Person. But *Bouillon* having notice of it underhand, took Post for *Turenne*, there to spend the Remainder of his days, having lost not only the Important City of *Sedan*, but the promis'd Equivalent besides. Nor does the Court of *France* do any thing more for the Family of *Bouillon*, then only lull 'em asleep with Cardinals Caps and Benefices of
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the same value. Thus we send Trifles to the *Indians*, and bring away their Gold and Silver.

I would fain have the French Emissaries tell me what reason the Most Christian King had to make himself Master of the Principality of *Orange*, to beat down the Fortifications of the Castle in the year 1667. when the Sovereign was under Age, and afterwards utterly to demolish the Castle and Walls of the City, and not content with that same Desolation, to sollicite the Corporations to submit themselves to the King, threatening, if they refus'd, to burn and totally ruine the Inhabitants, as afterwards the French Forces did, notwithstanding their Independant Sovereignty. I am perswaded the best reason those Emissaries can give, is because the Policy of *France* cannot brook a Foreign Sovereignty within her Dominions: and so it was the Interest of the Court to make themselves Masters of it, before the Sovereign was in a Condition to withstand their Power, by means of his Friends and Confederates: and all the while they pretended that they had done the Prince of *Orange* a signal Piece of Service, because they had spar'd him the Expence of a Garrison. But if such be the Charity of the Most Christian King, what may we expect from his Severity?

Without Question the same Spirit it was that inspir'd *France* to seize upon *Burgundy* and *Franche Comté*, without any pretence of Claim, after the *Pyrenæan* Treaty, and without any other reason, but because *Spain* being weak, was not able to defend her self, and because it is really the Court of *France* to aggrandize her self so soon as she finds an Opportunity, without any respect to Treaties or Alliances.

And it may be said, that the Ministry of *Mazarine* was a continu'd Chain of Oppressions, and that he made it his Study all his Life-time to extinguish the Nobility of *France* by all the ways imaginable, whether right or wrong: tho' he were cunning enough to support 'em during the Troubles which happen'd in the Kingdom during the reigning King's Minority.

But so soon as he had manag'd 'em, so soon as he had humbled their Power by ruining 'em: for he who deprives a Prince of Money, takes from him the Soul of Authority; the Princes of the Blood did nothing but cry out and openly reproach the Court, that she was full of nothing but Craft, Artifice and juggling Tricks to abuse the People and the Confederates; but they might cry as loud as they pleas'd, the Ministry went its own way, and the Cardinal let 'em say what they pleas'd, provided he did his own business. For it may be said of him, that his Tongue bely'd his Heart, and that his Countenance quite differ'd from his inward Thoughts. He was often wont to say, that the *French* were naturally Turbulent given to Novelty, and prone to Sedition, and that the Court was full of Restless Spirits. Which was the Reason that he always endeavour'd to cut 'em out Employment without the Kingdom. But in regard he had no reason to be satisfy'd with the People, he was the Inventor of the greatest part of the Taxes now raging in *France*, the Father of the Publicans and Toll-gatherers. He suck'd the Blood of the Subjects, in imitation of the Grand Signior, for the Support of the Soldiery, preferr'd before the People, at the Expence of the People, and tho' it should be to their utter Ruin; to the

the end he might be able to quell 'em, when ever they should be inclin'd to Mutiny and Insurrection ; Insinuating into the Young King, that the Preservation of his Crown depended upon his Soldiers ; as heretofore the *German* Legions vaunted to hold the Empire in their Hands. And in pursuance of that Maxim we have seen, that during this Reign, the Court of *France* has practis'd this Lesson, which has ruin'd her People, that she has impoverish'd her Subjects, depriv'd the Nobility of their Privileges, and all this meerly by keeping great Armies on foot, to serve her at all times with both Hands to ruin the People, when ever they went about to shake off or complain of the Excessive Taxes and Imposts with which they are daily overwhelm'd : to chastize the Parliaments when they refus'd to verifie the Edicts and Impositions which the Kings sends to 'em : as also that she may have her Legions always ready to invade the Dominions of her Neighbours, when they least dream of any such Acts of Hostility ; or are otherwise employ'd, relying upon the Faith of Treaties. As we have seen how that after the Peace of *Nimeghen*, when *France* finding her Treasures quite exhausted, and her numerous Armies ruin'd by Sicknes & Hardships, was constrain'd to make fresh Provision, fearing a Change of Fortune, as she had already felt at the Battel of *St. Dennis*. For this reason she sought Peace to break the Union, and obtain'd it in despite of those who well foresaw that *France* would no longer keep it after she had once recover'd Breath, or that she found a Propitious Opportunity to break it. For since the King of *France* falsify'd his Oath to observe the *Pyrenean* Peace, so solemnly sworn upon the Altar, Sincerity

city is fled from the Court of *France*, and return'd to Heaven, from whence it descended, and Corruption has taken the Place of Justice and Integrity. In regard the Ministry of *France* was only meditated to aggrandize the King. And therefore the deceased *Sieur de Colbert*, Chief Minister, never scrupled to assert, That the King might break and make Laws at his own pleasure; Privileges being Chimera's odious and offensive to it, and that Law was only the Inclination, Reputation and Authority of the Prince.

When the King of *France* has a mind to make himself Master of a Country, or only of a single Town, he never considers the Outward Situation, but the Inward Condition of it; by whom it is govern'd, who defends it; and the Louidores are most commonly the Cannons with which he attacks it. And therefore *Pomponne*, formerly Embassadour at the Court of *Sweden*, had in some measure good Reason to say, that *France* with her Money would always do what she pleas'd; and that it was by means of that Metal, that she was at that time become Mistress of his *Swedish* Majesty's Cabinet, and that she became Mistress of so many Places after the Peace of *Nimeghen*, under pretence of Appendences and Dependences, of which a great Volume might be made. This is a Truth not to be deny'd, since we have seen it with our Eyes, and that we still behold the Inhabitants of those Places groaning under the severe Servitude of the Despotick Government of *France*. But in regard that Usurpation cannot always long subsist, and for that so many Princes are at last awaken'd from their Oppression, the Court of *France* finding her self very much embarrassed.

rais'd to preserve what she has usurp'd since the Peace of *Nimeghen*, all her Policy could find out no better Expedient then to propose a Truce while the Emperour and the Empire were engag'd in a War against the *Turk*.

The Court of *France* had two Prospects in desiring this Truce. The first, That in detaining all the Places of which she had made her self Mistress, she at the same time lull'd asleep the Court of *Vienna* on the *Rhine* side, that she might oblige the Emperour to continue the War with the Grand Signior. Secondly, Not to observe the Truce any longer then till one or other of the Two Empires were reduc'd to a Low Condition. Had it been the Emperour's misfortune to have lost *Vienna*, then the Business was concerted and decreed, That the King of *France* was to have invaded the Empire with a powerful Army, and to have been proclaim'd Emperour with a high hand. On the Other side, if the *Turks* were beaten, he was to declare War against the Emperour, to prevent him from growing too great by his Conquests. But the latter falling out for the good of *Christendom*, presently *France* without any regard had to Truces or Alliances, openly attack'd *Philipsburgh*, carry'd it, and afterwards march'd with his Army into the *Palatinate* which he over-ran with Fire and Sword, and by Violence, and Conflagrations, got sure footing all along the Banks of the *Rhine*. where we to this day behold the sad and deplorable Remainders of the Rage and Fury of the *French* Armies. However in regard that Violence never wants a Pretence, and that the most Impious Actions veil themselves in like manner with some Outward Appearances;
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the King of *France* to justifie himself before all the World, out of a kind of Generosity pretends to declare the Reasons why he was constrain'd to resume Hostile Arms, to the end he might perswade all *Christendom* of his sincere Intention; to establish the publick Repose, while his Soldiers in all Places ruin'd and burnt whole Provinces, and carry'd away the Goods and Cattel of the Poor Inhabitants.

To this purpose the Most Christian King follows his begun Hostilities with a *Manifesto*, wherein the Principal Reasons that *France* alledges to cover her Breach of Faith, are first, That she was well inform'd that so soon as the Emperour should have made a Peace with the *Turk*, he had resolv'd to bend all his whole Force upon the *Rhine* against *France*. To which I shall answer hereafter in Particular : but in general thus much is to be said, that the Most Christian King, after he had broken the Truce, desir'd to make a Peace upon two Conditions. First, That the Truce for Twenty Years might be chang'd into a Perpetual Peace : and Secondly, That the Cardinal *de Furstenbergh* might be put into the Possession of the Electorate of *Cologne* ; and that afterwards the King would endeavour to bring the Cardinal and the Chapter to such Accommodations as should be propos'd for the Satisfaction of Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria* ; that is to say, to cause him to be declar'd Coadjutour to the said Electorate.

As to the first point the Politicks of the Court of *France* were very fine Spun and extreamly Crafty ; seeing that while the Emperour and the Empire were engag'd against the *Turks*, it was the proper
time

time for her to appropriate to her self all the Places, Lands and Signiories which by the Truce were not left to the enjoyment of *France* but for Twenty years, of which three were expir'd, and which the King was fully perswaded in his Conscience that he could not justly keep, but must be forc'd to restore at the Expiration of the Truce.

As for the Possession of *Cologne* by the Cardinal of *Furstenbergh*, (the detaining of which from the said Cardinal was another specious Pretence for his resuming Arms) all *Europe* is sufficiently acquainted with the Engaging Reason which the Most Christian King had to make himself Master of that Archbishoprick: seeing the Cardinal and the King were all one, and so by means of that Possession the King of *France* had one Foot in the Empire, and upon the Territories adjoyning, belonging either to the States of the United Provinces, or the *Palatine* and *Brandenburgh* Electors. But because it will be a difficult matter for us to treat otherwise then confusedly of the Policy of *France* in general, we shall descend to Particulars, thereby to render it more Intelligible, beginning with the Holy See.

The Kings of *France* have always held themselves highly honour'd with the Title of Eldest Sons of the Church, and would have made War upon any one that should have ventur'd to dispute that Title with 'em. In like manner, they have all along given Marks of their Filial Obedience, and a devout submission to what ever came from the Holy See. And to have seen *Lewis XIV.* persecute the *Huguenots* in *France*, there is no body but would have sworn that he had been the most Zealous Catholic in the world. Nevertheless we have seen
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the contrary, and that what he has done in reference to the *Protestants*, was only to ward off the Accusations that might have been charg'd upon him for openly opposing the Holy See, while he affronted, as all the world knows he openly did, Pope *Innocent XI.* only because the Holy Father would not give way to his Usurpation of the Regale in *France*; which produc'd the Assembly of some Prelates of the *French* Clergy in the Year 1682. wherein the Archbishop of *Paris* who presided there, being flatter'd in case of a Rupture, with the hopes of being Patriarch of the Kingdom, or in case of an Accommodation, with the expectation of a Cardinals Cap, got all the Prelates who were present at the Assembly, to degrade the Papal Authority, and of a Universal Pontiff, to make him a Simple Bishop, subjected to Councils. And the King constrain'd all the Preachers in the Kingdom, and Rectors of Universities to declaim and teach a Doctrine in Opposition to the Authority of the Pontiff. Nay, the Business went so high, that the Court of *France* undertook to govern *Rome* it self, in opposing the Suppression of the Franchises of Embassadors Quarters in *Rome*; which indeed were no more then a Sanctuary for Robbers and Bankrupts. Moreover, the King of *France*, that he might remain peaceable Possessor of the Regale, went about to set a foot an Old Pretension of the Duke of *Parma* to the States of *Castro*, and *Ronciglione*, supposing 'em Guarranties only of the Treaty of *Pisa*, which was a Pretence to seize upon the City and Country of *Avignon*, which the Court of *France* had for a long time look'd upon as an Estate that lay convenient for her, and only sought an Opportunity to detain it,

it, without being oblig'd to make Restitution ; and which had taken effect, had not *Innocent* the XI. been a quiet and peaceable Pontiff, suffering with a Christian Patience while he liv'd, all the Affronts of the Court of *France*, referring the Revenge of 'em, as he was often wont to say, to his *Crucify'd Saviour* ; and to him it was, that the Holy Father appeal'd, when *France* sent him a Copy of the Extract of the Registers of the Parliament of *Paris*, in the ensuing Words.

' This day the King's Advocate-General coming
' into the *Chamber of Vacations*, and declaring, That the
' Matters of Fact explain'd by the Letter which the
' King wrote to Cardinal *d'Estrees* the 6th. of this
' Month, having oblig'd his Majesty to let our Ho-
' ly Father the Pope know, That for the future he
' could not but look upon him as a Prince engag'd
' with his Enemies, consequently that he could not
' acknowledge him for a Judge of every thing that
' concern'd his Majesty's Interests, the King's Ad-
' vocate General thought it his Duty, at the same
' time to take the Precautions settl'd by the Law,
' practis'd upon several Occasions, and grounded
' upon the Opinions of the *Italian* Canonists them-
' selves, to hinder his Holiness from pronouncing
' Effectual and Regular Judgments upon these Ma-
' ters. To which purpose, he has put in to a Uni-
' versal Council an Appeal Extrajudicial, as to all Pro-
' ceedings of his Holiness at present, or for the Future;
' and as to all Sentences which he may have given,
' or hereafter pronounce, to the Prejudice of the
' King, or the Prerogatives of his Crown, or of his
' Majesty's Subjects. Of all which, the Respect
' which he owes the Crown, has oblig'd him to
' come

' come and give the Court an Account, and pre-
 ' sent to their view the Act which he has made,
 ' wherein he cannot but acknowledge the Piety;
 ' Wiſdom and Moderation of the King in this par-
 ' ticular, which ſeem to have extinguiſh'd in the
 ' Perſon of the King, thoſe Paſſions that moſt ve-
 ' hemently agitate other Men. He hopes that the
 ' Court will approve his Conduct, and assures him-
 ' ſelf that they will both zealouſly and faithfully uſe
 ' all the Authority with which it has pleas'd the King
 ' to inveſt 'em, to maintain the Reſpect which is due
 ' to his Maſteſty, and to preſerve the Prerogatives of
 ' his Crown, the Tranquillity of his Subjects, and the
 ' Liberties which are not only particular to the
 ' *Gallican* Church, but which ſhe has preſerv'd with
 ' more Learning and Vigour then any other. Which
 ' things being conſider'd, the Chamber Ordains,

' That the ſaid Act of Appeal be Register'd in
 ' the Registers Office, that recourſe may be had to
 ' it, as occaſion ſerves, and that Thanks be return'd
 ' to the King for ordering his Advocate-General to
 ' proceed according to the Uſual Praeſtiſe upon the
 ' ſame Occaſions, and that the Firſt Preſident do
 ' aſſure the King in the Name of the whole Society
 ' of their Devotion to his ſacred Perſon and his Ser-
 ' vice; and that they will at all times make uſe of
 ' that Authority which the King has conferr'd up-
 ' on 'em, to ſupport the Prerogatives of the Crown,
 ' the Liberties of the Kingdom, and the Repoſe of
 ' his Subjects.

' It was alſo further added by *M. Harlay*, the
 ' King's Counſellor in his Council of State, and his
 ' Advocate-General, That the Reputation and Piety
 ' of our Holy Father *Innocent XI.* cauſing his Ma-
 ' jeſty

‘ jesty to rejoice at his Exaltation to the Pontificate,
 ‘ his Majesty endeavour’d to close with his Holiness,
 ‘ in order to a unanimous Care of what ever might
 ‘ be for the Glory and Service of God.

‘ That his desires and the Progresses he made in or-
 ‘ der to such a Pious Design, not having had that
 ‘ Success which he expected, the King however still
 ‘ continu’d on his part to employ the Power which
 ‘ God has put into his hands for the preservation of
 ‘ the Purity of the Faith in his Kingdom, and to bring
 ‘ back to the Bosom of the Church a Great Number
 ‘ of Children that are gone astray, as also to afford
 ‘ the Church all the Protection, which she could ex-
 ‘ pect from the Authority of a Great King : his Ma-
 ‘ jesty also has edified by his Example, and instructed
 ‘ all his Subjects by his particular Piety.

‘ Nevertheless, our Holy Father the Pope, to
 ‘ whom so many wonderful Vertues and Actions
 ‘ ought to have render’d the Person of the King so
 ‘ dear, has with great heat embrac’d the Com-
 ‘ plaint of the two Bishops about the Right of the
 ‘ Regale; and his Holiness at the same time rejected
 ‘ the Testimonies of all the rest of the Prelates of
 ‘ the Kingdom, touching the Favours they have
 ‘ receiv’d from the King in that particular to the
 ‘ Prejudice of his Prerogatives.

‘ He went about to take from the King’s Em-
 ‘ bassadours at *Rome* the Franchises which they en-
 ‘ joy’d, even under his Pontificate, in a City where
 ‘ it became the Gratitude of the Popes to have pre-
 ‘ serv’d to our Kings, more singular Marks of that
 ‘ Sovereignty, of which they formerly despoil’d
 ‘ themselves, to enrich the Holy See.

‘ Our Holy Father has also look’d upon as a dan-
 ‘ gerous and suspected Doctrine, the Declaration
 D ‘ which

‘ which the Assembly of the Clergy made in the
 ‘ Year 1682. of their Opinions concerning Eccle-
 ‘ siastical Power ; at such a Conjunction too, when
 ‘ some of his Predecessours would rather have been
 ‘ banish’d to the Extremities of the Earth, then
 ‘ have suffer’d so many New Converts.

‘ He refus’d his Bulls to several Ecclesiasticks no-
 ‘ minated by the King to supply the vacant Churches
 ‘ in his Kingdom.

‘ The partial Behaviour of our Holy Father in
 ‘ reference to the Archbishoprick of *Cologne* ; his
 ‘ Resolute Refusal to acknowledge or give Audi-
 ‘ ence to the King’s Ambassadour at that Conjun-
 ‘ ction ; but thundering out Anathema’s against him,
 ‘ and Interdicting him from *St. Lewis’s* Church in
 ‘ *Rome*, will perpetuate an Example almost Incre-
 ‘ dible to Posterity of the King’s Zeal for Religion,
 ‘ and his desire to preserve the Peace of *Christendom*,
 ‘ and of the Pope’s proceedings so contrary to the
 ‘ Obligations of the Place which he supplies.

‘ Wherefore seeing His Holiness stops his Ears
 ‘ to all the King’s most just Complaints, we are
 ‘ constrain’d at length to defend our selves, and to
 ‘ maintain the Dignity of the Crown, and the Re-
 ‘ pose of the King’s Subjects by the Rules of Justice,
 ‘ at a time that his Majesty does the same, with so
 ‘ much glory, by the Puissance of his Armes.

‘ Thereupon the King’s said Advocate-General,
 ‘ having first obtain’d the King’s permission, de-
 ‘ clares, That he is Appellant in the King’s behalf, and
 ‘ in behalf of all his Subjects to a Universal Council,
 ‘ which His Holiness shall be pleas’d to call in due
 ‘ and Canonical Form, &c. Protesting in the mean
 ‘ time in the Name and by the Express Command
 ‘ of

' of the King, that 'tis his Intention to remain
 ' inviolably devoted to the Holy See as the true
 ' Center of the Church's Unity, &c. And so soon
 ' as our Holy Father, being better inform'd, shall
 ' shew the Equity, the Sentiments and Partiality of
 ' a Judge and common Father, his Majesty will
 ' pay to his Person the same Filial Respect, as he
 ' did before; and from which nothing but the ill
 ' Conduct of his Holiness causes him to abstain.

After the Court of *France* had put these unheard-
 of Affronts upon the Holy See, and thus debas'd the
 Authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, instead of ma-
 king use of those means which the Catholick Church
 and Councils have put into his Hands to bring back
 Princes and People to their Christian Duty, the
 Pope out of a peculiar Fund of Charity and Piety,
 contented himself with making appear to all the
 World, the Justice of his Proceedings and the In-
 justice of the *French* Court, declaring all along, that
 he was perswaded that the Truth of Affairs had
 never been truly represented to the King of *France*;
 only that the Artifices and Passions of those who
 are no Lovers of Peace had infus'd into him an Idea
 altogether different. Otherwise that it was never
 to be believ'd that the King would have harbour'd
 in his Mind those Injurious Sentiments contain'd in
 Cardinal *d'Estree's* Letter: his Holiness having ne-
 ver fail'd to shew himself a true Father to all Catho-
 licks, but more particularly to *France*; who upon
 several Occasions had receiv'd various Testimonies
 of his Indulgence and Esteem; but instead of
 being repay'd with Grateful Acknowledgment, his
 Holiness had been expos'd to most heinous Injuries

and Affronts not only offer'd to his Person but the Holy See, by extending the Regale to above half the the Churches in *France* that are no way subject to it; but by the Second General Council of *Lion*, by prescription of almost 400 Years by the Testimonies and Evidences of Edicts of several Kings, Decrees of Parliament, and Registers of the Chamber of Accounts, as also by the Opinion of the most celebrated French Lawyers, ought to be exempted from it.

The Pope loudly complain'd of the Violence done to the Convents of the *Carognes* and *Urbanistes*; and that, only for applying themselves to the Holy See, in Opposition to an Invasion of their Privileges, and the Canonical Rules of their Orders, which imports, That Abbots and Superiours ought to be Elective, and continue for three Years together. In contempt of which, the King had introduc'd Abbots of his own Nomination. Besides the Rending away of Five Abbies, without the consent of the Apostolick See, to erect a Commandery, and applying to Other uses the Revenues possess'd by several Monks and Nuns, according to the Will of the Donours.

But that which was more enormous, was the King's Prohibiting the Bishops to have any Recourse to the Pope, according to their Duty and the Custom of all Times, to ask his Counsel in matter of Religion; as also in reference to what concern'd Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*: tho' in granting him the Eligibility for three Churches that were Legally possess'd by the deceas'd Electour of *Cologne*, all *Christendom* saw that the Pope had no other Aim then the Publick Good. For besides the high Value

lue which it behov'd him to have for that Illustrious House, the Merits of the Electour his Brother, who had so gloriously defended *Christendom* against the Invasion of the *Turks*, his Holiness had done nothing in that particular, but only imitated the Liberality of his Predecessours, who conferr'd the like and greater Favours also upon Persons much Inferiour in Birth, Age and Merit, then Prince *Clement*, and that too at the Request of the Kings of *France*.

And for the Bull granted to Prince *Clement*, the Pope could not be accus'd of any Injustice for so doing, since that Affair was exactly and seriously examin'd in a Consistorial Congregation at *Rome*. Besides that the King of *France* had neither any Reason nor Right to intermeddle in that Affair, since it was a Business that only related to a *German* Archbishoprick, and an Electour of the Empire, which no way concern'd *France* either directly or indirectly, but the Pope only in respect of Apostolick Confirmation, and the Emperour, as to the Investiture of the Pincipality in admitting him into the Electoral College, to which belongs the Right of Electing a new Emperour, and which has a very great Sway in managing the Affairs of the whole Empire. So that the Pretence for War which *France* lays hold on from the Proceedings at *Cologne* is to be imputed to the King's Passion, and his own Interest.

After what past in the Assembly of some Part of the Clergy at *Paris*, where among other things, the King caus'd the Regale to be adjudg'd his Right, notwithstanding the Appeal of the Bishops of *Alets* and *Pamise*, to the Pope; and the Propositions so injurious to the Apostolick See, supported by Royal Edicts,

Edicts, enjoyning every Body to receive and publicly profess and teach 'em in such a manner as was never yet practis'd, His Holiness had great Reason to refuse his Bulls to the Ecclesiasticks nominated by the King to supply the vacant Bishopricks, because they were present at the said Assembly of 1682. and there openly declar'd themselves Enemies of the Apostolick See; and for that the Canon Law, and the Agreement made with *France*, that the Pope should be judge of the Capacity of the Persons nominated, prove moreover, That the said Ecclesiasticks nominated by the King, were not Persons proper to be entrusted with the Instruction of the People, but absolutely addicted to their pleasures, and their worldly Interests, seeing that they never scrupl'd to revolt against their Spiritual Chief, and to betray the Liberty and Privileges of the Church, to the end they might gain the King's Favour, and augment their Temporal Means. Upon this, the Court of *France* being desirous to vex the Pope, made choice of the Marquis of *Lovardin* for his Embassadour to *Rome*, because he was a Known Enemy of the Apostolick See, and was both able and willing to affront and molest his Holiness. No wonder then if he never had Audience of the Pope, seeing that according to the General Rule, no Minister should be sent to a Sovereign Prince, but such a one as is acceptable to the Prince with whom he is to negotiate: besides that it is not sufficient for a person to be sent by a Prince, to entitle him to the Prerogatives of an Embassadour, but according to the Laws of Nations, he must be acknowledg'd for such a one by the Sovereign to whom that Minister is sent. Therefore the Court of *France* had no

no reason to complain that the Pope refus'd to give Audience to the Marquis. Nor indeed would any Sovereign have suffer'd the Marquis, as he did, to enter *Rome* with Armed Force, as it were to deprive him of one Part of his Sovereignty, and on purpose to affront him after such a manner, unheard of even among *Barbarians* themselves.

'Tis observable that when *France* has any occasion to court the Favour of the Holy See, she sends Prelates, Cardinals and Bishops for her Embassadours; in regard it is a Thing both decent and becoming Ecclesiasticks to be submissive to the Pope; besides that they are allow'd Admittance, when Seculars are excluded. But when *France* has a mind to affront the See, she sends a Lawyer or a Sword-man, who neither depends upon the Pope, nor expects any Kindness from him, and who dares ruffle him stoutly, when it is to promote the Interests of *France*. But *France* seeing the Pontiff inflexible, and that he was not to be gain'd either by his Nephew nor by the Cardinals that were most Intimate with him, resolv'd either to rid him out of the world or to wait for his Death. But Old Age sparing *France* the Labour of her first design, he was no sooner dead, but *France* began her old Custom of making Parties, and scattering her Loidores up and down *Rome*, to purchase a Pope of her own Faction; and the Lot fell upon a *Venetian*, *Ottoboni*, who took upon him the Name of *Alexander VIII*. *France* thought him her Friend, and attributed the whole Glory of his Election to her self. But she found him to be a *Venetian*, that is to say, one that conceal'd his real Sentiments as long as he liv'd; and never declar'd himself till he came to lie upon his Death-Bed; but

then he did it in such a Manner as was no way for the Advantage of *France*. Now in regard he was very Old, and desirous to make the best of those few Years he had to live, to raise the Fortune of his Family, the *French* Ministers fail'd not to be liberal of their enchanting Golden Philters, to allure his Kindred into the Interests of the *French* Court. But how willing soever, or how Importunate to Oblige their Uncle to do something in favour of the King, they could never procure from him any thing more, but only that while he held the Pontificate he did *France* neither good nor harm. However, the *Italians* say this of him, That he did like the Swan, that is, he Sung a little before his Death. Nevertheless *France* suffer'd patiently that petty Mortification, and the loss of all her Presents to the Family of the *Ottoboni*, in hopes to have at length a Pontiff more favourable to her Purposes. At last after much canvassing, most Voices were for a Neopolitan, of the Family of *Pignatelli*, whom the Cardinals of the *French* Faction would not exclude, upon his promise to the *French* Cardinals that the *French* Court should have no reason to be dissatisfy'd with his Pontificate. But being elected he forgot the Promises he had made, the rather because the Imperial and Spanish Embassadours dissuaded him, as much as lay in their Power, from the observance of 'em. The Court of *France* therefore finding that they had to do with one that was not less weak in Mind then infirm in Body, press'd it upon him that he would occasion the damnation of a great number of People that were without Pastours, if he persisted in the Refusal of his Bulls to the Bishops of *France*, who were present at the Assembly

sembly of the Clergy in the Year 1682. And at the same time the *French* Cardinals, according to their Instructions, gave the Pontiff to understand, that a War was very near breaking out in *Italy*, and that he would be answerable for the Blood that should be spilt; seeing the Most Christian King's Patience was at an end, and that most certainly he would withdraw himself from his Obedience to the See of *Rome*, and set up a Patriarch in his own Kingdom, and thereby retain several Millions that went every year to *Rome*. Thereupon, those Fears that usually seize People superannuated, and the Delicacy of Conscience without any necessity of a Pontiff, made him determine to satisfy the Court of *France*, upon frivolous Promises that the Bishops should submit, tho' to the prejudice of the Holy See; since the King retracted nothing of what he had done publicly against the Authority of the Pontiffs and the Religion of the See, and for that the Registers of the Parliament of *Paris* (containing the Injurious Appeal of the King's Advocate-General) still remain upon Record, and for that *France* will one day revive it again, when she finds a favourable Opportunity to humble the Court of *Rome*.

Neither the Pope nor the Holy See are to judge of the Catholicity of *Lewis XIV.* or his Court by the Passion which he has shown in persecuting the *Huguenots* within his Kingdom. So far from that, seeing that while the French Monarch persecuted the *Huguenots* in his own Realm, and destroy'd their Churches and their Exercises, he succour'd Count *Teckeli*, the Head of the same Sect, that were revolted from their Sovereign in *Hungary*: and the Court of *France* was not only more closely Ally'd
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for his sake with the *Ottoman* Port, to which he also gave considerable Assistance, but made Vows for the Prosperity of the *Mahometans*, and repair'd their Mosques even as far as *Vienna* it self. Moreover, I have frequently heard the Director of my Conscience say, and have heard several of the quaint Doctors of the *Sorbonne* preach, that the Fruits of the Christian Religion were Charity, and that he who was void of it could not be a True Catholick; that Charity was a Vertue which produc'd a Patient Spirit, that it was benign, that it was not covetous of other mens Goods, nor sought its own advantages; that it neither commits Injustice nor possesses any thing unjustly got: that it endures every thing, believes every thing, bears with every thing; never carries it self insolently or dishonestly. This is the Character of a True Christian, according to the Learned. Now if the Pope finds but one of these Vertues in the King of *France*, I mean that Sincerity which Pope *Gregory* requir'd from a true Catholick, which consists in fulfilling by our Actions what we have promis'd in Word: in that case I agree, that the Pope may not only embrace him as his Eldest Son, but canonize him after his Death, and I will be the first that will pay my Homage to the Great St. *Lewis*. If it be enquir'd, From whence this way of proceeding arises, so different and irregular in reference to the Holy See, more especially in a King who adorns himself with the Title of Most Christian; I answer, that 'tis from hence, because that whatever he took in hand was for the Service of that Great and Ambitious Design which aim'd at nothing less then to be the Master of all *Europe*. To which purpose he had it in view,
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by the Persecution of the Religionaries of his Kingdom to acquire to himself the Suffrages, the Esteem, the Assistance of all the *Roman Catholicks*, in the midst of those great Designs which he had to invade the Empire by means of that Succour which he gave the *Turk*. There is nothing makes the King of *France* so sick at heart, as the Prosperity of the Emperour. He would willingly make War against Heaven, because God did not give him all the Earth to himself, or at least because he thinks his Neighbour has the better share, and possesses the more lovely part. For this Reason you see that *France* is always upon the Enquiry; Her Emissaries continually inform themselves what Territories, what Splendour others enjoy, that their Monarch may have an Opportunity to fall upon This or t'Other, or Both together. Envious Persons are as it were the Animated Skeletons of Demons, that are nourish'd only by their own Torments. *Agrippina*, the Mother of *Nero*, was wont to say, *That there was nothing in the World which a Prince ought not to Sacrifice for a Crown*. And therefore it was, that *Katherine de Medicis*, Queen of *France*, finding herself ready to sink under the Burden of the Civil Wars, after the death of her Son *Francis II.* and not knowing any longer, after she had tyr'd 'em all out, to what Saint to recommend her self, went to the Devil with her three Younger Children, *Charles IX.* the Duke of *Anjou* and the Duke of *Alanson*. And the Medal is still to be seen with this Device beneath her Figure, engrav'd in Copper, and the Figures of her three Children which she offer'd to the Demon, *Soit, pourvu que je regne. Let it be, so I may reign.* If these Miserable Women have carry'd their

their Ambition so high for a single Crown, what may it not be Lawful for *Lewis XIV.* to do, so he may gain the Universal Monarchy? For still whatever he does, the *French* have a Name for it; they call it *Grandeur of Soul*. They offer Incense at this very day to the Divinity of *Lewis* the Great, and below his Statue, the Head of which is environ'd with a Glory, there are written these Blasphemous words, *Numini Ludovici Magni*. This is the Religion, and this is the Idol of the Court of *France*, and of their Emissaries, that compass the Earth to make Profelytes to embrace and adore the Interests of *France*. If among such proceedings as these, if in such a Dreary Chaos, the Holy See can find out *Catholicity*, I will acknowledge him to be like God himself, who alone can bring Light out of Darkness.

But *Lewis* the XIV. was not content with the Crown of *France*, nor to make himself Emperour, but to be the Universal Monarch of the World, and then not having any more to conquer here below, like the Gyants of Old he would have built a Tower to scale Heaven, and Dragoon the Inhabitants of the Eternal Mansions. However the Sovereign KING of Kings, who derides the Folly of Men, has in a good Measure confounded the Counsels of *France*, and dissipated all her Great Designs; particularly since the raising the Siege of *Vienna*, upon the 12th. of *September* 1683. a fatal day for *France*, but glorious for the Emperour and Empire, and Happy for all *Christendom*. This unexpected Blow, contrary to the Hopes and Expectations of *Lewis* the XIV. and his Ministers, constrain'd him to seek a Truce, which was granted him for Twenty years; and

and by which the Policy of *France* had a fair Prospect of Keeping those Towns of which she was Mistress ; and on the other side had gain'd time to see the Issue of the War between the two Empires, with a Design however, as already has been said, no longer to observe the Truce, till the King beheld the Fate of the Two contending Parties. If the Emperour fell, then the King was to march in Person into *Germany*, and cause himself to be proclaim'd Emperour and Protector of the *Christians*, at the Head of his Army. If the Grand Signior had the worst of it, then the King was to send his Forces to his Aid, by ravaging all *Germany*, and dividing the Forces of the Empire, as he did under imaginary Pretences ; which was more then openly to Succour the *Turks*, who in Truth had broken with the *Christians* barely upon the Sollicitations of Count *Teckeli* and the King of *France*, promising great Assurances, if they happen'd to prove the weakest, and in that alone the *French* Monarch may be said to have kept his Word. 'Tis also no less true that his own Interest was at the Bottom, he not enduring to behold the Prosperity of the Imperial Arms ; and fearing least the Emperour, proving Victorious, should one day re-demand the Towns and Territories which he had usurp'd from him.

France then seeing the Emperour's Success, the *Christians* winning Battel after Battel, the *Turks* driven beyond *Belgrade*, his Design upon *Cologne* frustrated, the Baron of *Plettenberg* chosen Bishop of *Munster*, the Baron of *Elderen* elected Prince and Bishop of *Liege*, and by this means all the vast Designs of *Lewis XIV.* quite ranvers'd, she was no longer to be restrain'd within the Bounds of a Truce,
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so that her Fury fell first upon *Phillipsburgh*, which the Emperour not being in a Condition to defend, the King carry'd the Town, the 29th. of *October* 1688. and thus neither *Decorum*, nor the Interest of the *Christians*; neither promis'd Faith, nor all the *Catholick Religion* it self, could hinder the perfidious Victor from declaring openly for the Infidels and Enemies of Christ and the Christian Name. However if on the one side *France* in some measure wreck'd her Revenge by the War which she unjustly declar'd against the Emperour, it may be certainly said, that the Acquisition of *Philipsburgh* cost King *James* his Crown, as being at the same time abandon'd by *Lewis* the XIV. to his Evil Fortune. The Council of *France* soon after, but too late, acknowledg'd their Fault, and could find no other way to excuse the Blunder, but by entring into a War with *England*, *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, at the same time that they declar'd War against the Emperour: and this same mistaken piece of Policy occasion'd that strict and sincere Confederacy, which we see at this day, between the greatest part of the Christian Princes to preserve themselves from the Invasions of *France*; and *Lewis* the XIV. to wreck his Revenge upon 'em for the sad Fate of K. *James*, his most dear Allye, whose Misfortunes were only the Consequences of his having follow'd the Counsels of *France* and her pernicious Politicks, was oblig'd to raise Great Armies and equip a Numerous Fleet, to restore K. *James* to his Throne; tho' hitherto he has not been able to accomplish any thing in his Favour, but rather has liv'd to see the Disappointment of all the Hopes that flatter'd his first Attempts. Whereas if the Ambitious Monarch
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had turn'd his whole Force against the Empire only, and bent all his strength on that side, he might have gone a great way into the Empire, and have given *Mahomet*, his Dear Friend and Allye, a fair Opportunity to recover his Losses. But while he labour'd the Re-mounting of two unhors'd Princes, he ruin'd both the One and the Other. And here it is that we ought to adore the Divine Providence that confounded and strook with a suddain Stupidity the Counsels of *France*, on purpose to dissipate those unjust Designs which her False Politicks had suggested to her, no less then the Affailing of all *Europe* at a Time; according to the Proverb, *Covet all, and Lose all.*

There is no question but that *France* was sensible of her Errour, after the Revolution in *England*; for which reason she discharg'd all her Fury upon poor *Germany*, where the *French* Soldiery exercis'd the utmost Extremities of Cruelty and Barbarism, because that Electorate belong'd to the Emperour's near Relation and Confederate.

France being thus Embark'd upon this Tempestuous Sea, the Prosperity of the Imperial Arms, the Revolution in *England*, and the strict League of all the Confederate Princes for the Defence of the Common Cause could not choose but raise prodigious Storms about his Ears; and therefore finding there was no repairing the Fault she had committed, she was constrain'd to caress and promise the *Ottoman* Port whatever Succour the Infidels demanded both of Men and Money to oblige the *Turks* to continue the War. With a Design however to deceive and forsake 'em, so soon as the Court of *France* should find it convenient to agree with the Emperour.

Emperour. But in regard the *French* have drawn in the *Ottoman* Port, and blinded with their Presents the Principal Ministers, and more especially the Mufti, who holds his Dignity for Life, 'tis almost impossible to open the Eyes of the Grand Sultan, who is willing to flatter himself with the Hopes of recovering that part of *Hungary* which he hath lost. So that as long as the *French* are able to domineer at the Port as they do, 'tis in vain to send Embassadours thither, to make proposals of Peace, since it so absolutely behoves the Court Politicks of *France* to hinder it, by all manner of means, cost what it will, either by Money or Poyson, as we have seen. 'Tis not long since, that the *French* perceiv'd, that the Ministers of the Mediatours had made some Progress in the Interim that our Minister was hastning to the Port; but their Enissaries both at *Constantinople* and *Adrianople* overturn'd with Money all the Measures that had been taken. So that there is nothing but an Insurrection in the *Ottoman* Empire, that can ranverse the Practices and Machinations of *France*; and this is that which the *Christians* ought to meditate, if they desire a Peace between the two Empires; and there are ways to bring it about, if they would but put 'em in Practice.

Nor is it to be question'd but that *France* drives on all the Intrigues imaginable in the *Ottoman* Court, where she is in daily fear, least early or late a sudden Truce should be clap'd up between the two Empires, by reason of some unexpected Insurrection, as I have already said. And therefore it is, that the Court of *France* endeavours to supplant her Confederate, and to make a Peace with the Emperour and the Empire, by restoring several Places which

which she now holds in *Germany* ; because that *Lewis XIV.* and his Ministers see very well, that they cannot continue the War, so long as the Confederacy continue their Union, as hitherto they have done : that being alone by himself to bear the Burthen of so many Enemies, he stands in need of Numerous Armies to oppose the same Adversaries that environ him on every side, in *Germany, Flanders, Brabant, Catalogna, Navarr and Piemont* ; but above all, the Conjoyn'd Fleets of *England and Holland*, that threaten his Coasts, and enforce him to an Excessive Expence to guard himself from a Descent : his Trade being quite lost, his Subjects reduc'd to utmost Misery, and his Exchequer decreasing every day, through the decay of Trade, and the Poverty of the Inhabitants of his Kingdom. We must believe, that *France* would fain have a Peace, while she thinks she has some Advantage, before any Terrible Blow befall her, which would enforce *Lewis the Great*, to accept of such a Peace as it would please the Emperour and the Confederates to afford him. 'Tis no less certain then, that his Imperial Majesty, together with the Confederates, have no more to do then to continue the War a little longer, to compass their Ends upon *France*, that can never be able to make Head against 'em for any long time. Which is the reason that we find her already beginning to change her Batteries, at the same time that she sees her self oblig'd to alter her Designs in respect of the Empire. Formerly nothing would serve *Lewis the XIV.* but the Imperial Crown for himself, and the Title of King of the *Romans* for the *Dauphin* his Son. But now no more of that : The Grapes are out of his Reach, and therefore

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he cries, *They are sown*. All those vast Designs having fail'd, and all his Lofty Enterprizes being come to nothing, the Policy that *France* made use of when the *Turks* were marching to the Siege of *Vienna*, is now no farther useful: the End failing, the means must of necessity surcease. Formerly *France* was all for dethroning the Emperour; but now 'tis well if she can keep the Crown upon her Monarch's own Head, in preserving by the force of her Arms what he has usurp'd from his Neighbours. Heaven has alter'd the Face of Affairs, by the ill success of the *Ottoman* Armes, and thereby confounding the Counsels of *France*; the designs of both being the same, and both acting in order to the same Ends.

And as the Designs of *France* are chang'd in respect of the Emperour, who is the Chief and Head of the Empire, so they may be presum'd to be the same in regard of the Electours, who are the Members of it: Formerly, 'twas the Policy of *France* to caress 'em one after another, to dazle 'em with the Grandeur of *Lewis* the Great, and perswade 'em to side with the Interests of that Monarch; sparing neither for Promises nor Presents to render 'em inclinable to elect *French* Coadjutours. But afterwards they were clearly convinc'd that this was the Apple of Discord which the King of *France* threw into the Empire, to the End he might swallow 'em up one after another. Now therefore let us see what new course he takes to manage the Princes of the Empire. They can now no longer be serviceable to him in making the *Dauphin* King of the Romans, in regard they have Check-mated him on that side already. So that they have spar'd him a world of Trouble, and a great deal of Money which he was wont to

to throw away by Shovel-fulls upon that Occasion. Much less is it to be thought that *Lewis* has now any Hopes of being Emperour, since I am told, that the Book entitul'd, *The just Pretensions of the King to the Empire*, written by the *Sieur Aubri*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, serves now to no other use, then to wrap up Butter and Cheese in the Chandlers Shops.

The Ministry of *France* now labours to separate the Electours and Princes of the Empire from the common cause (not by the means of Gold or Silver because he finds 'em incorruptible) but by invading their Territories by Fire and Sword, as he has done the *Palatinate*, the Dioceses of *Cologne*, *Mayence* and *Treves*, with a design to enforce 'em to persuade the Emperour to accept of a Separate Peace; by which means *France* will remain the Mistress still of the Greatest part of all her Usurpations. To which purpose she makes a dextrous Use of the easie Access which the Monks and Jesuits have to the Persons of the Roman Catholick Princes, and to intrude among the Ministers of State, every where extolling the King's Catholicity, and his great design to have exterminated Heresie, had not King *James* been dethron'd. But some have said very well in Answer to those Emisseries, that all those forward Acts of seeming Zeal were no other then a sort of Clumsie Trapans; that they must go and tell their Stories to Children and Fools, for that they were no Strangers to the King of *France's* Religion.

There is one thing very Remarkable, that *Lewis XIV.* designing the Destruction of the Empire, was the occasion of the strengthening it, and of under-

propping it in some measure with new Supports, by adding a Ninth Electour to the Electoral College, and more particularly by the Choice which the Emperour and the Electours have made of the Duke of *Hanover*, to supply that Place, to the great Grief of the Court of *France*, who with all her wilely Stratagems and false Politicks, could not prevent it. The Election of a King of the *Romans*, of Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, to the Electorate of *Cologne*, of the Baron of *Elderen* to the Bishoprick of *Liege*, of the Baron of *Plettenberg* to that of *Munster*, but more especially the Revolution in *England*, were bitter Morfels for the Most Christian King to swallow, and still lie heavy upon his Stomach. And whenever *France* comes once to see the Bottom of her Exchequer, there is no question but her Fall will be very great, since it was her Money that only upheld her in all the Courts of *Christendom*, that she has plaster'd over all her Usurpations, and that she has lull'd several Princes asleep, whose real Interest it was to oppose her. Silver is a sort of Mettal every where acceptable, and the Avarice of the *Switzers* has spread it self into several Courts, according to the saying of *Alexander*, *That there was nothing inaccessible to Silver*: tho' *Matchiavell* upholds, *That 'tis a hard matter for Steel to keep possession of that which is purchased with Gold*. Nevertheless we have seen the Contrary both in *Germany* and *Flanders*, where the King of *France* bought several Places with good ready Money, and has held 'em for several Years. But give me leave to add this Reason for it, I mean the little good Correspondence at that time between the Princes of the Empire, and the Powder of Gold which their *Jupiter* rain'd among 'em. That Monarch

narch not only got great Footing within the Territories of his Neighbours, but made his Possession good. Witness *Strasburg*, *Hunninghen*, and several other Places upon the *Rhine*, as *Mayence* and several Fortresses in the Diocess of *Cologne*, if Heaven, by a Blow that *France* little expected, had not linked together that Sacred Union, in the Empire, for the Common defence, which all the gilded Politicks of *France* could never prevent, nor her Poyson put a stop to. And this is a Truth never to be contradicted, that the Sincere Union of the Princes of the Empire preserves 'em from being corrupted, and early or late will render 'em Victorious over the Common Enemy, and put 'em in a Condition of being able to recover what they have, and fix 'em in the Possession of what they hold untouch'd. No wonder then that the *French* destroy and ruine *Germany* where they come, because they find they cannot hold it, but must surrender back all their Usurpations: tho' by the Havock which they make, they are in hopes to weaken the Strength of their Enemies. 'Twould be but Justice then, and what the King of *France* has no such reason to wonder at, that he should be one day constrain'd to repay the Damages, for the Spoil which his Armies have committed, in pursuance of his Internal Politicks.

During the Reign of *Philip* the II. King of *Spain*, it may be said, that *France* and *Spain* divided *Europe* between 'em; and that they were truly the Two Scales of a Ballance, which the Other Sovereigns endeavour'd to keep in an Equilibrium, and sided sometimes with the One, sometimes with the Other, as their Interest directed 'em, in order to keep an Equality of Force, for fear of being swallow'd up

by the Strongest. But since King *Philip's* time, it may be said, That *Spain* has been continually sinking lower and lower; that she has been in good part the Prey of *France*; and that had it not been for the Allies, the French at this Hour would have been not only Masters of the *Low-Countries*, but of *Madrid* it self. And indeed it may be said, that the Duke of *Alva* lent the first helping Hand to the fall of the *Spanish* Puissance, by his Proclamation concerning the Tenth Penny in the Year 1569. by his Depriving the People of the Liberty of Conscience, and the *Massacres* that succeeded, and which was the real Cause of the Revolt of part of the *Low-Countries*, and the Fountain and Original of all the Misfortunes that afterwards befell that Monarchy, which instead of striking Dread and Terreur into all *Europe*, and the Other World, is dwindl'd away to that degree of Impuissance wherein we now behold it; govern'd 'tis true, by one of the best Princes in the World, leading a Pious and Exemplary Life, and void of any Vicious Inclination: and it may be certainly said, that the People and Grandees of the Kingdom are happy under so Just a King, if they understood their Felicity, and would but correspond with the Pacifick Genius of their Prince. But most commonly the Ministers and their Adherents make their Advantage of the Good Nature of their Prince to fill their own Purses by emptying his, and by that means deprive him of his Ability to withstand the Sworn Enemy of *Spain*, who environs him on every side, and who for more then one Age together, has study'd nothing but his utter Ruine, and makes a dextrous use of his Imbecility. The King of *France* has been a long time acquainted with the Consti-
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tution of the present Catholick King, and upon that Knowledge it is that the Policy of *France* has built her Designs, and so well understood to carry on her Affairs, that she brought about a Marriage of that Monarch with a Princess of *France*, Daughter to the Duke of *Orleanse*, and that meerly to be inform'd of what pass'd even in this Catholick Majesty's Bed-Chamber, as was seen by the Relations frequent in the Court of *France*, and which meerly serv'd for Sport among the *French* Ladies, who are naturally inclin'd to Gossipry, Tittle Tattle, and Raillery. And therefore 'tis a pernicious sort of Policy in the Court of *Madrid*, to bestow the Daughters of *Spain* upon *France*, and to match their Sovereigns with the Daughters of *France*: and of this there are recent Proofs that make us sensible. For it is certain that the Marriage of the Infanta *Maria Teresa* to *Lewis* XIV. has brought nothing but War and continual Trouble upon *Spain*, and still will become the Occasion of More, by reason of the *Dauphin's* Pretensions, in case the Catholick King happens to dye without Heirs. 'Twill be in vain then to alledge that *Lewis* the XIV. at his Marriage renounc'd his Claims with a Solemn Oath: for if he brake his Oath, and all the Princes blame him for doing an unlawful and unjust Act, tending to Usurpation, a Sin against Reason and Conscience: 'tis presently told ye, that he could do nothing to the Prejudice of a Third Person, meaning the *Dauphin* of *France*, the only Offspring by that Marriage; and usually in such differences between Sovereigns, the longest Sword carries it. *Ratio ultima, Regnum*, was the Motto which Cardinal *Richlieu* caus'd to be engrav'd upon the Armes of *France*. Or if it be not

reason, 'tis the definitive Will of Kings, and becomes Reason, if once it proves successful. The want of Issue by the Catholick King's second Marriage with the Princess *Palatine of Newburgh*, increases and swells the Ambition of *France*; and 'tis very probable, that *Lewis* the XIV. would not be willing that the King of *Spain* should happen to dye (which God forbid) during his being enga'd in a War with almost all *Europe*; in regard that not having his Hands free, he could not so easily fall upon *Spain* with a sufficient Force, as he might be able to do, to make himself Master of that Monarchy, in prosecution of his Hopes and Pretensions, if his Catholick Majesty did not prevent him, in his Lifetime. 'Tis the Policy of *France* to insinuate into the *Grande*es of *Spain* desires of enriching themselves, while they have an Opportunity; to the end that after his Death, they may be able to erect Petty Sovereignties in every Corner of the Kingdom, for there is not any Prince among 'em who wants a Pretension, with a promise to every one that she will stand by Him, and grant him her Protection against all Assailants; They not considering all this while, that *France* will at last swallow 'em all up, one after another, and that they will become the Sport of *Lewis* the Great, their secret Enemy. Who in the mean time by this means enfeebles *Spain*, extenuates the King's Treasure, and deprives him not only of the power to recover the Places he has lost, but to defend those which he has yet in his Possession, which the *French* wrest from him by degrees, because that *Spain* is not in a Condition to make a Potent Opposition; as Experience had taught us too apparently, not only during the War, but also in
time

time of Peace. For that since the *Pyrenæan* Peace, *Spain* has suffer'd the Usurpation of a great many Provinces, as *Burgundy*, *Franche Comé*, and Considerable Portions of the *Low-Countries* and *Catalonia*. And all this, because that *Spain* is a languishing and sickly Body, whose Forces waste by degrees, through the too much softness of the Sovereign, and the Greedy Covetousness of the *Grande*s of the Kingdom. Whereas if the Catholick King would make use of his Authority; forsake his Cabinet and Head his Armes, there is no question but that the Face of his Affairs would quickly alter. It behoves him for the replenishing of his Coffers to squeeze the Sponges that have swell'd themselves with his Treasures, and enrich'd themselves at the Expences of his Crown and People. A Prince that leads a Soft and Effeminate Life is neither fear'd by his Enemies, nor belov'd by his People. He is lookt upon as a Statue, and resembles those that wish for mighty Things, as if they design'd to leave only their Dreams to Posterity. Whereas a Monarch ought with his own Sword to make the Pen that is to write his History: that is to say, that his Valour and Prowess ought to afford his Historiographer, Matter: otherwise he only serves to fill up the Catalogue of the Kings, and the Day of his Birth, and the Day of his Death are the most Illustrious and Memorable Parts of all his History. A King receives his Crown from his Ancestors, but his Renown must spring from himself. The Council of *Spain* falls asleep presently after a Peace, and many times after a Truce, not considering that *France* is always awake, and that she never lays down her Armes but that it Costs the King of *Spain* some or other

other of his best Towns. It would be superfluous to set forth in Painting to the *Spaniards*, the misery of their Condition, should they once fall under the Despotick Dominion of *France*. They need no more then cast their Eyes upon the lamentable and wretched Estate to which the *French* are at this day reduc'd ; while some are forc'd to wander about the World, expos'd to utmost Misery, to Hunger and Cold, and all this meerly to avoid the Cruelty and Tyranny of their Monarch ; and they that remain behind, lie Groaning under the weight of his Iron Scepter that continually bruises 'em to death with his Oppressions and his Imposts. The only way therefore for the *Spaniards* to prevent their Ruine, is to countermine the Policy of *France* : to supplicate their Monarch to appoint his Successour in his Life-time ; to the end he may be bred up in the Court of *Madrid*, and be ready to oppose the Invasions of *France* after the King's decease. But more especially, to beg of the Emperour to put a speedy End to the Turkish War, that he may have his Hands at Liberty to be assisting to *Spain* at a time of need.

'Tis also an Affair of Great Importance, and most Essential toward the Preservation of the Remainder of the *Low-Countries*, and not to relie as the Council of *Spain* does upon her Neighbours ; which is the reason that they neglect to send the True Succour, which it would behove 'em to send in time into those Provinces which were within a Fingers Breadth of being utterly lost, during King *James's* Reign. And indeed there happen so many Changes and Revolutions in the World, that a well advis'd Monarch ought never to relie upon the Forces of Other Princes but his own.

While

While the Provinces of the Spanish Low-Countries were govern'd by Interested Vice-Roys, who preferr'd their own private Concerns, before the Preservation of the Provinces, with which they were entrusted, we still found that *France* seiz'd upon City after City, and is now in Possession of whole Provinces; and it may be said that a better thought never came into her Head, then when she abandon'd the Conquest of *Italy* (where she Exhausted her Men and Money) to turn her Forces upon *Flanders*, where all Appearances seem'd more easie, since she saw well that Governours were sent thither only to enrich themselves: among whom the Greatest Part minded more the getting of a Million into their Purses, then the preservation of the Best City in the *Low-Countries*. To avoid which Mischief, there is a necessity of having a Prince for Governour, whose particular Interest it is to preserve 'em, who will march at the Head of his Army, lay out the Subsidies of the People, in defraying the Necessary Expences of the People, and take care for the Timely Returns of Money; for that the *Low-Countries* can never subsist without an Army well pay'd.

We have met with all these Advantages in the Person of his Electoral Highness the Duke of *Bavaria*; and it may be said without flattery, That the Choice which his Catholick Majesty made of that Prince for the Government of the *Low-Countries*, was one of the best and most important Hits of State that *Spain* has been for some time guilty of. 'Twas such a Blow to *France*, as broke all the Measures she had taken, during the Government of *Gastanaga*; nor could *Louis XIV.* ward off this Blow

Blow which the King of *England* gave him, without ever giving him warning to guard himself.

'Tis a thing no less observable then wonderful, That the Council of *Spain* having no more then this little Corner of the Earth to guard, should neglect it as They do ; seeing that good Policy requires, that *Spain* should drein herself, rather then part with it, were it for nothing else but to serve her as an Amusement to the Arms of *France*, as we have found it to have been in all the last and present Wars, and the Counterguard that keeps the most Christian King from Marching to the very Walls of *Madrid* it self. The reason of this Carelessness may well be thought to be the Popular Errour of the Inhabitants of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, who tell the *Hollanders*, when they upbraid 'em with their Remissness as to their own Preservation, 'Tis you that ought to defend us, for the sake of your own Interest. And indeed, there is some reason for this Opinion. But the chief reason proceeds from the Avarice of the Spanish Ministers, who shroud themselves under this Mistake, which serves 'em to heap up Wealth, while the King their Sovereign is engag'd on every side to preserve himself.

The Policy of *France*, together with her Loid'ors, works now the same Effect with the which formerly *Philip II.* wrought by virtue of his Doublon's. For I have heard say, That ev'n in Time of Peace, there was not any Place in the *Low-Countries* where *Lewis XIV.* had not his Creatures and his Cabals ready to declare themselves in Time and Place, and when an Opportunity requir'd. And certain it is, That if this were not the whole which was then said, 'tis
a good

a good part of the Truth. For having beheld what we have seen in our days, in reference to that impregnable City of *Luxemburgh*, and the Acquisition of the whole Province that follow'd, we ought to be convinc'd, that that same Place of so great moment was not obtain'd by the Bravery and Courage only of the French. There is no better way then, to disappoint those Treacheries, then by often changing the Garrisons, and sometimes the Governors themselves; but above all things, to Pay well, and Punish without Exception, when there is the least Fault committed. The *Low-Countries* are, at present, like an Insolvent House, that must be re-settl'd by good Oeconomy, and by affording the Inhabitants the Means of being able to contribute towards it.

The *Low-Countries* have a long time been the Mark at which the Court of *France* has aim'd. Upon the least Dispute, or Pretence of a Quarrel with the Court of *Spain*, in she pours with all her Fury upon the *Low-Countries*, like an impetuous Torrent; plunders, burns, and never retreats without some considerable Loppings which she dismembers from the Body of the Tree. Which nevertheless is not a Mischiefe never to be remedy'd; since the Sea it self is many times restrain'd by Causeys and Mounds, though it be an Element a thousand times more to be fear'd then the Policy and Pride of *Lewis XIV.* And this is that which the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the rest of his Brave Confederates must do, to stop and curb the rapid Inundations of *France*. They must look upon the French Monarch as one that thunders in all his Forces and his Fury upon those Places where he is sure to find but little Resistance, and
from

from such Victories as those he reaps his greatest Honour. I confess, that a Prince who is violent, and a Usurper, is happy so long as Fortune goes hand in hand with his Natural Humour. But in regard she grows weary, for the most part, of always carrying one Man upon her Back, we also find that the same Prince becomes unprosperous, when Fortune changes her Mind, or rather, when there is an Opposition made against him. And therefore, if we may build upon outward Appearances, and if there be any thing of Prognostication in the Presentiments of Wise and Judicious Men, the *Low-Countries* may well hope, by the Blessing of Heaven, the prudent Conduct of their Great and Sage Governor and Leader, and the sincere Intentions of the Confederates, to be soon deliver'd from the Yoke and Barbarity of *France*, and enjoy the Fat of a fruitful Soil, that has so long fed so many Thousands of Foreigners, both Men and Beasts.

From the *Low-Countries* I cross over into *England*, where I find, that the Revolution which happen'd in the Year 1689. affords a large Field, and ample Matter to supply my Discourse. The Court of *France* not only cry'd *The Town's our's*, but *Europe's my own* so soon as she beheld *James II.* upon the Throne of *Great Britain*. I shall not here enlarge upon the Accident that set him in the Throne. But certain it is that, *France* and He had long and passionately waited for the happy Minute; for that according to their Saying between 'em, *Charles II.* was a meer Slugg, and had neither vigour nor courage to put in Execution the Projects that *France* was a Brewing. But far from that, *Charles II.* wanted neither

neither Policy nor Ingenuity, and might have gone to his Grave with the Character of Prudent and Virtuous, but for his scandalous Inclinations for Women. However, it may be assuredly said, That the Match to which he was in a manner driven against his own Consent, made him disgust Matrimony, and threw him into a Vein of wanton Courtship. 'Tis true, 'twas a Weakness in him too apparent for his Honour; but *France*, and his Brother the Duke of *York*, knew how to make their Advantage of it. And therefore the Joy of *Lewis XIVth's* Court was not to be conceiv'd, so soon as both He and his Adherents understood the Death of that good Prince, and the Elevation of *James II.* to the Throne; the Jesuits rejoyc'd in particular; and never was such Posting backwards and forwards between *Versailles* and *London*, as after the King of *England's* Death came to be publickly known at the French Court. And there was some reason for it; for that then it was, that the French Council began to take terrible Resolutions, in order to the putting in Execution a Design that *France* had kept conceal'd in her Breast for many Years before. She began with the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz*; a Thing which she durst not meddle with, so long as King *Charles* was alive, (though that Prince, in his heart, was none of the Devoutest Religionaries; but a Politician much more, and one who observ'd his Measures, by reason of his Parliament, that was well inform'd that *England* was the Garrantee of that Edict.) But so soon as *James II.* became sole Master in *England*, the Court of *France* gave her self her full swinge, and push'd on her Design upon *Europe*, might and main, because that then there was no longer any fear of *England*, which was the only Puissance that could

could either disappoint or advance her Enterprize. And this was a Truth at all times so well known by the Kings of *England*, that *Hen. VIII.* made a Medal of Gold, upon which was engrav'd a Hand stretching it self out of a Cloud, and holding a Pair of Scales that were equally poiz'd, with this Motto, *My Friendship turns the Beam.*

But in King *James's* Time it was not *England* turn'd the Scale, but *France*, while *England* like an Ox, ignorant of his own Strength, tamely surrender'd her Neck to the Golden Yoke of *Lewis XIV.*

Formerly the Policy of *France* sent to the Court of *England* Lovely French Nymphs to cultivate the Hearts of the English Lords, and of the Monarch himself. But during King *James's* Reign, another sort of Vermin were made use of, and Monks and Jesuits were sent in Shoals, that like so many Caterpillers and Locusts devour'd the Country; and who had already dispers'd themselves over all the Kingdom, and had made themselves Masters of the King and his Privy-Council, to the great grief of all his good Subjects. What a Heart-breaking must it needs be to the sounder Party at Court, to see a Father *Peters* Chief in the Privy-Council, pearch'd upon one of the highest Dignities in the Kingdom, slighting and domineering over the Lords and Peers of the Realm, as having got the Sovereign Authority into his Hands, and for that the King and the Queen (a Princess transported altogether by her Passion) suffer'd themselves to be deluded and govern'd by this *Tartuff* of a Hypocrite, and he over-rul'd by Father *La Chaise*, who had all his Orders from the Court of *France*. By which it may be easie to judge in what Condition

France

France was at that time ; what Devils haunted both the Court and the Kingdom, tramp'd o're the Necks of the King's best Subjects, and were just exposing the People to the Rage of Queen *Mary's* Reign, who allow'd her Subjects no other Choice but of the *Mass* or the *Faggot*.

They who seriously consider the Policy of *France* in respect of *England*, during the Reign of King *James* the II. will find the Game but very ill play'd, seeing that in so short a time it gave an occasion to a Revolution so dangerous to *France*. But so it happen'd, because that *Lewis* XIV. not foreseeing the Consequences, after he had once given a loose Liberty to the Monks and Jesuits, was no longer Master of the Affair ; and those Vermin pusht on King *James* with so much precipitancy, that he being desirous to do too much at once, they ranvers'd at the same time all the Designs of *France*, and cast him headlong from the Throne into an Abyss, from whence he will never be able to rise again so long as he lives : nor will all the Power of *France*, nor the detestable Wealth and Politicks of the Jesuits be able to restore him again.

If the Court of *France* were so excessive in their Rejoycing upon the Coronation of King *James*, we may assure our selves, that they were no less drown'd in Tears of Grief and Rage upon his Abandoning the Crown. And then it was, that all the best Head-pieces, both Jesuits and Courtiers, met together which way to apply some proper Remedies to a Blow so fatal and so unlookt for : and then it was that *Lewis XIV.* acknowledg'd his Error in following the Marquis of *Louvois's* Counsel, which was to attack *Philipsburgh* in-

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stead of *Maestricht*, and give the Prince of *Orange* an Opportunity to pass un-disturb'd into *England*. But that which deceiv'd *France*, was an Army of Forty thousand Men which King *James* had a foot, of which a great part were Irish, and a Fleet of Forty Men of War riding out at Sea; which indeed was a Force sufficient both by Sea and Land to have resisted so small a number as attended the Prince into *England*. But it may be said, that that same great Body was a meer Monster, all Arms but no Head, and whose Veins were fill'd with Water only instead of Blood. And if *France* had bethought her self to have sounded in the first Place, the Heart of King *James*, she would have found there more of Cowardice then Courage, and without question she would have march'd her Troops to the Lower instead of sending them to the *Upper Rhine*. But by this we see that there is a certain Destiny which all the Wisdom, all the Force and Industry of mortal Man cannot escape.

But now the Constitution of the Court of *England* being chang'd by the Alteration of the Government, there was a necessity for the Court of *France* to change her Batteries, and to employ all her Politicks which way to dethrone the reigning King, whether by the Sword, by Fire or by Poyson, 'twas indifferent to her, provided she attain'd her Ends: and for the Truth of this, we have sufficient Proofs; the Testimony of *Grandvall* at his Death, and the authentick Depositions of *Dement*, who is still living to the Shame and Confusion of *France*; the Remembrance of which will be a lasting Stain to her Honour; a Fact which her succeeding Princes will deny, as a Reproach to their Posterity, and for which Hi-
stories

stories only furnish us with the Example of *Darius*, King of *Persia*, who not being able to vanquish his Enemy *Alexander* in Battel, treacherously labour'd to have won the Grecian Soldiers either to kill or betray their Prince. And for that it was that the Macedonian Victor upbraided *Darius's* Embassadors, when they came to sue for Peace, and to return him Thanks for the Civilities he had shew'd to his Mother, his Wife and his two Daughters; to which Embassadour the Macedonian Monarch thus began his Answer. Tell your Master, that Thanks are superfluous among Soldiers that make War one upon another; and therefore if I were Civil and Courteous towards his Relations, 'twas only to satisfy my self, and not out of any Affection that I bear to him; for 'tis not my Humour to insult over the Miserable. I never attack Prisoners nor Women, I only assail those that I meet with Weapons in their Hands, and who are in a Condition to defend themselves. So that if he sincerely desir'd Peace, I should consider what I had to do, but seeing that he still continues by Letters and Money to solicit my Soldiers, to betray me, and my Friends to Kill me, I am resolv'd to pursue him to the uttermost of my Power, no longer as an Enemy, but as a Poysoner, and a Ruffian, &c.

'Tis not to be deny'd, but that when any man designs to murder his Enemy, 'tis because he dreads him with a more then Ordinary Fear, and to deprive his more valiant Adversary by such a Cowardly and detestable Action of the Honour of vanquishing him in Battel. But such Assassins never come to good End: for *Darius* perish'd miserably, being murder'd by his own Subjects, and at the same time lost both his Life, his Diadem and all the Wealth of *Persia*. But to return to our Subject.

During the Reign of King *James*, *France* sent into *England* whole Legions of Monks and Jesuits, under pretence of Propagating the Faith, and to screw themselves into the most considerable Families of the Realm, under pretence of Religion, as also to assist this Unfortunate Prince, to observe his Footsteps and dive into his secret Thoughts, to the end he might not be able to avoid the Chains which the Court of *France* had prepar'd for him. But now the Emiffaries of *France* have alter'd their Language; and whereas at that time they preach'd nothing to the *English* but Peace and Obedience there; now they breath nothing but Fire and Flame, Sedition and Murder where e're they come, fomenting Rebellion in all parts of the Kingdom, and ready once more to fire the City of *London*, if they believ'd the Conflagration would contribute any thing to their wicked Designs.

The whole Policy and Craft of *France* is at a great Loss at this Conjunction, to find that all her Machinations against the Life of the King of *England*, at present prosperously Reigning, are still disappointed. Nor is it less a bitter Choak-Pear to *Lewis XIV.* the Proudest Monarch upon Earth, to see himself at last constrain'd to acknowledge his Brittanick Majesty the Lawful Monarch of the Three Kingdoms, and sue to him for Peace; and all this after he had Vaunted before all the World that he would never lay down his Arms till he had restor'd King *James* to his Throne, not without a prophane and Daring Application of the words of God the Father to the Son. *Sit thou at my Right hand till I make thy Enemies thy Foot-stool.* Now after such a Bounce, a man would think it should be a trouble to the

the Court of *France* to find her self constrain'd to dismiss this poor unfortunate Prince. But there will be no such Thing : For when Persons that have been profitable to the Court of *France* become once unserviceable, she never scruples to send 'em packing in cold Blood. 'Tis true that she observes some Measures, and lets yee know her Mind at first by Hints and indirect Whispers : but if you do not understand her Mute Language and Dumb Signs, she fails not to inform your Stupidity with plain and down-right Expressions : it being a Maxim of the *French* Court, never to love the Unfortunate. But you'll say, what Benefit can accrue to *Lewis XIV.* by keeping King *James* in *France* : 'tis not for the Benefit of his Counsel ; for he could never give or take any himself ; nor is it out of any heat of Concupiscence for the Queen of *England* ; for he has much handsomer and Prettier in his Seraglio of *St. Cyr*, where *Madam de Maintenon* out of her Pious Care, for several Years together has kept in good *decorum* a numerous Bevie of young handsome Ladies, who are as it were so many Victims which she offers to the Divinity of *Lewis the Great* ; and though that Monarch had not that Reserve for his little Pleasures, the Court is full of *Coquetts*, and the Mothers are such *Ninnyhammers* as to carry their Daughters thither, to try whether or no their good Fortune will advance 'em to the Embraces of that Great Monarch, and all this in hopes to raise the drooping condition of their Family. Insomuch that I have known some Parents condescend to that point of Panderism, as to Lesson their Daughters and instruct 'em what they were to say and do, in case the King should happen to take notice of 'em. So that most assuredly, it would not

be to Queen *Femmykin* that the Sultan of *France* would throw his Handkerchief, unless it were with that Limitation that *Alexander* observ'd who refus'd to exercise at the Olympick Games, unless he might have Kings for his Competitors And thus *Lewis XIV.* grown more Great perhaps then formerly, would have the World believe, that he'll no longer be a Gamester in the Sports of Love, unless he may have Queens for the Objects of his Passion. However, the King grows old, and therefore let us be so favourable to him as to believe, that if the Court of *France* did entertain King *James* and all his Train at *St. Germans*, 'twas not for any Affection the *French* Monarch bare him, but because the *English* Fugitive who generally, feeds upon Chimera's, fancy'd Himself, and endeavour'd to perswade the Court of *France* that he had a Great Party in *England*; not only all the *Roman Catholics*, but all the Fanatics in the Kingdom. That the *Quaker Penn*, who indeed is no other then a Jesuit in Masquerade, assur'd him of the Absolute Devotion of that whole Sect to his Party and Service. But the Court of *France* has been well inform'd, that all these Assurances were meer Illusions, seeing that neither Catholics nor Quakers are admitted into the Parliament, nor into any the meanest Offices in the Kingdom; and that it would be a very difficult thing not to say an Impossibility to embody all those that go by the Name of *Jacobites*, scatter'd up and down in several Parts of the Kingdom, and for the most part known to be such. Besides that, we find that no sooner a Dozen of these Rebels meet together, but they are presently discover'd; a visible Sign of the Care that Divine Providence takes for the Preservation of their Brittanick Majesties; and that the

same

same Providence watches over 'em, while they, without intermission, labour to settle the Government, to protect the Nation against their Enemies, and to re-advance the Honour of the British Name, beyond what the Princes, their Predecessors, have done for several Ages.

There is no question to be made but that the King of *France*, or his Council, is very well inform'd of the Constitution of *England*, and that it will be in vain for their Enemies to attempt any thing there, so long as the King and his Parliament are united together, as we find 'em at this Day. Inasmuch, that this good Correspondence has furnish'd the King with powerful Supplies, to oppose his Enemies both by Sea and Land, tho' their Number were double to what it is at this Day. For that so long as the English have a formidable Fleet upon their Coasts, who shall be so daring as to attack 'em? Not *France*, I'm sure. Besides, that if they can but come to grapple with their lurking Enemy, the French would soon be constrain'd to quit their Coasts. So that all things being consider'd, there is nothing more for *France* to do, but to give over the War with *England*; for that unless they be Masters of the Sea, their Trade is lost, and they are absolutely ruin'd, not being able to sell their Wines, their Brandy, and other Products of the Kingdom; besides that, they are forc'd to drain themselves of all their ready Money to pay the King's Subsidies; with a number of Impositions and Taxes with which the Kingdom swarms. And which is worst of all, their Harvests having fail'd for Two Years together, from whence shall they have Corn if they be not Masters of the Sea? more especially being at War with the

Hollanders, and excluded out of *Spain*, which has several times supply'd their Wants. So that 'tis no marvel that the French begin to be weary of the War, especially with *England*; and that he no longer observes any Measures with King *James*, who at present resembles one of one those petty Saints, to whom they will not put themselves to the trouble of lighting up a small Wax Candle, because they neither cure any Diseases, nor are able to make their Guardian's Pot boil.

France has begun a War, which she will not get quit of when she pleases her self. Her Monarch has a long time acted *Orlando Furioso*, and affronted both in Word and Deed, a Prince that was not in a Condition to defend himself; but now that Providence, by a miraculous Conduct, has plac'd the injur'd Prince upon the British Throhe, 'tis not for the Court of *France* to think, that God, by his Providence has so highly exalted that Prince, has conferr'd upon him the Government of several Kingdoms and Provinces, and put so great a Power into the Hands of the only Prince that *France* is afraid of; a Prince that has so well united the greatest part of the Princes of *Europe*, in order to make a vigorous War against the common Enemy, who by degrees has so largely usurp'd upon their Dominions, and all this only to render more conspicuous the Honour of *Lewis XIV.* as his Emissaries give out. 'Tis never to be believ'd; and they that imagine it, must be either void of Sense, or be of the Number of those Phanaticks that have no more Wit then to adhere to King *James*.

But if *France* can get nothing by a War with *England*, she may be much a loser, considering the present

sent Condition of her Affairs. For should the English once happen to set Foot in *France*, they have not forgot their Right to *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Poitou*, and *Languedock*. When the English quitted *Calais*, they promis'd the French Governour, who came to take possession of it, to return when their Sins were not so crying loud as those of the French. At least the Court of *France* is not to believe that the English will let 'em alone in the quiet Possession of *Dunkirk*; a Place that is no more the Patrimony of the Kings of *France*, then *Strasburgh*. They that sold both the one and the other of those Cities, had no right to make the Bargain: *France* treated with those that were under Age. Now we know that what an Infant Sells or Contracts for, is lyable to be cancell'd. *Charles* the Second had neither conquer'd nor purchas'd *Dunkirk*; he found it annex'd to the Crown upon his return to his Kingdoms; nor was it for him to sell it, to satisfy the Avarice of his Chancellor. So that the Kings his Predecessors, have still an undeniable Right, either to regain it by Force of Arms, or recover it by Treaty of Peace, with much more Equity and Justice, then the Chamber of *Metz* can pretend, to make Reunions to the Crown of *France*.

The words *surrender back*, are doubtless very hard of Digestion to *Lewis* the Great, who pretends at all times to be the only Person that can restore Peace to *Europe*: and therefore he ought in the first place to understand what Restitution is. The Greatest and Wisest of Kings assures us, That Destruction presses close upon the Heels of the Proud; and as I have already said, Fortune grows weary of always carrying the same Prince upon her Back.

There

There are many Reasons why *France* should sink, after all the Cruelties she has committed, and which are not yet at an end. People trail their Chains after 'em for some time without much complaint ; but 'tis with a design to break 'em upon the first Opportunity : and there is no question to be made, but that if the *English* once set Foot ashore with their Prince at the Head of 'em, but that the greatest part will receive him as their Deliverer. And I dare be bold to affirm, that there are at Present a Great Number in *France* who wish it, and wait for their Deliverance, and that there is hardly a Lord at Court, or a Prince of the Blood, who does not pray for the bringing down their Monarch, and the Prosperity of the Confederates Armes. The Race of *Valois* ended in *France* for less Crimes than those that *Bourbon* has committed. But there is a precise Time appointed for humbling the Monarchs of the World, conceal'd from Humane Knowledge, and it is a Folly to go about to penetrate into a Secret which Divine Providence has reserv'd to it self. However we see the King of *France* tries all Ways and Means to Support himself, like a Man that strives against Death. He ruins his Subjects to maintain his Armies ; he Impoverishes 'em, to constrain 'em to turn Soldiers. He calls in all their Money, embases it, and pays 'em with New Money enhaunc'd above a Third part of the True Value, to fill his Coffers. He seizes upon all the Church-Plate, and what belongs to private Persons, and coins it into Money ; and the better to inveigle the People as it were to follow his Example, he sends his own Plate First of all to the Mint, and sends for it back the next day. There is not
any

any Tax, or Toll, or Imposition that has escap'd the Invention of his *Flint-Skinners*; so that the greatest part of all the Handycraft Tradesmen and Peasants have abandon'd their Farms and their Houses, to wander about and beg their Bread, or else to seek their Livelihoods in foreign Countries. I have often with my own Ears heard very good Men and Old Catholicks cry out, *When will the Prince of Orange, meaning the King of England now reigning, come and deliver us from all our Miseries.* Rightly judging, That the English are They who can only give that Lucky Blow; by reason that their nearness to the Coasts of *France* facilitates their Entrance into the Kingdom. The Court of *France* knows this to be true, and therefore takes so much care to line their Coasts: tho' the King of *France's* whole Army would not suffice to guard a Compass of 300 Leagues in Extent so well as they should do, to prevent the Enemies landing in some part or other: Where they that land have no more to do then only to stand the First Shot; for the Second Discharge will prove very moderate; and for the Third, there will be no occasion to fear it.

I affirm then, that the *English* alone are able to harraß *France* more then any of the Confederates, to put her to an Excessive Expence, which dreins her Treasury, forces the King to oppress his Subjects that he may replenish his Coffers, provokes the Malecontents to shake off the Yoke of a Despotick Government, and to desire a Government like that of *England*, which beyond all contradiction is the most Just and most Equitable, as well for the King, as for the People; every one there enjoying their
Rights

Rights and Privileges, the King his due Prerogatives, and the People their Repose.

If any one of the Republicks of *Europe* be able to infuse Jealousies and Fears into *France*, it is the Republick of the United Provinces, which is at present the most potent, the most Illustrious, the most glorious, and the most wealthy Republick in the World. I acknowledge that *Venice* may dispute the Point of Antiquity with her: otherwise there is no Comparison to be made between 'em. No wonder then that her Neighbouring Puissance has drawn upon her the Envy of *France*. The Policy of her Ministers, ever since the Beginning of this Reign, has very Judiciously exercis'd it self in finding out the most clever and probable ways to swallow up those Provinces, 'either by Conquest or by Ruining 'em, to which purpose Measures have been taken a long while ago. And *Lewis XIV.* at the Beginning of the War 1672. did verily believe to have compass'd his Designs: having invaded the States at a Time when they rely'd upon the Faith and Sincerity of Treaties, and had neither any Forces a foot, nor any General to lead 'em; Good Husbandry being Natural to Republicks in Time of Peace. Nevertheless *France* could not strike that Blow so home as she desir'd, without the Consent of *England*; and therefore it was that the Court of *France* was so careful to improve their Friendship with *Charles II.* sparing neither for Money nor the Allurements of Pleasure to inveigle and fasten him to their Interests, and to cause him to bury in Oblivion all the Benefits he had receiv'd from the Republick and the House of *Orange*. Nor would *France* quit

quit her Hold, till *England* had in conjunction with her, declar'd War against the United Provinces, where the Embassadors of *France* had for some Years labour'd underhand by the Inticing Baits of Gold and Silver to gain Creatures within the Republick, since which time the Count *d'Arvaux* understood so well to follow their Steps, that he out-did 'em. For that being Young, and a Courtier, he made his Love of Women serviceable to get him Admittance into certain Families that had some share in the Government; and there were few Cities where he had not his Creatures, who gave him Intelligence of all things that pass in Council; and some there were, who like *Nicodemus's* came to him by Night, not daring to appear in the day-time.

The Greatest Policy of *France* was always to form Division between *England* and the United Provinces; afraid of nothing more then a good Correspondence and Union between the Two Puissances. Nor did she see any way more Probable to compass her Ends upon the United Provinces then by sticking close to *England*; which had fallen out luckily for her, during the two preceding Reigns while she amus'd those two Princes with Hopes of sharing in the Conquest. And upon this Score *Lewis XIV.* had very little trouble to perswade *James* the Second to close with him; for that in his Heart he was an Enemy to the United Provinces and the House of *Orange*; besides that he was besieg'd by the Monks and Jesuits, and particularly by Father *Peters*, who kept him under the awe of the *Ferula*, putting him in hopes of Great Rewards from Heaven, in case he would lend his
Helping

Helping hand to destroy the Hereticks ; perswading him that the United Provinces were the Center of Heresie. So that he added to his private Hatred that Biggotry, which those Hypocrites of Monks continually blew in his Ears. And indeed, all Things were in a ready forwardness to recommence, in Conjunction with *France*, a new War against *Holland*. The King's Inclinations were altogether bent that way, and the Thing would have had the Effect desir'd, so soon as *James* the Second had once obtain'd to be Master of his Parliament, had abolish'd the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and lay'd low the Heads of some of the principal Lords, the best Affected toward the Wellfare of the Kingdom, and the Preservation of the Privileges of the Nation. But the Revolution in *England* falling out so unexpectedly toward the end of the Year 1688. and the Year following, fended off the Blow, and broke all the Measures of those Two Princes ; to which we may add, the rejecting of the Cardinal of *Furstenburgh* from being Archbishop of *Cologne*. All these Events, so contrary to the Expectation of *Lewis XIV.* very much contributed toward the Preservation of the *Low-Countries*. For there is no doubt but the Cardinal, who is a Man dangerous, turbulent, actuated by the Demon of *France*, to whom he has sold and devoted himself, since he withdrew himself from his Obedience to the Emperor, his lawful Sovereign, was introduc'd into the Chapter of *Cologne*, only to be the Tool and Organ, by whose means the Most Christian King might the more easily disturb the States of the United Provinces. But all these ways failing, tho' not his good Will, and finding he could not be assisted, either by

by *Cologne*, nor *England*, nor by the Bishop of *Munster*, as in the preceding War, *France* could no longer contain her self, but under pretence of assisting King *James*, presently declar'd War, and fell upon the United Provinces to prevent 'em from aggrandizing themselves by the sincere and strict Union which they were about to make between the King and Queen at present prosperously reigning. But in regard that frequently Revenge never considers the Danger to which it exposes it self for the satisfaction of its Rage, in like manner the King of *France* has drawn upon himself, all of a sudden, the the most numerous, and the soundest part of the Puissances of *Europe*, who will never lay down their Arms till he has made those Restitutions, which they shall think convenient for the Welfare of *Europe*; there being no other way of Reliance upon the Promises and Faith of the Most Christian King.

I believe that *Lewis XIV.* spake just according to the Sentiments of his Heart, when he happen'd one Day to say, *That he neither Fear'd nor Lov'd the Hollanders*, who nevertheless fill'd him full of Jealousies and Fears, and often broke his Measures. And yet 'tis to that warlike Nation, that he is at this Day beholding for his having got the upper-hand of *Spain*: For as *France* formerly made use of the *Hollanders* to humble *Spain*, so the *Spaniards* are now glad of succour of the United Provinces to humble the Pride of *France*: And the Moderation and Flegm of the *Hollanders*, proves very effectual to abate the Fury of the French, which only affrights those that fear it, and are not acquainted with it.

In the Year 1672. the United Provinces alone made Head against the Two Potent Kings of *France* and *England*, were Victorious at Sea, and constrain'd the latter to make a Peace, and the other su'd for the Peace of *Nimeghen*. Tho' through a remissness Injurious to the Honour of the Parties, the Plenipotentiaries, out of a Compliance not to be endur'd, suffer'd the slipping in of those Words, *That the King of France being desirous to restore Peace to Europe, &c.* Whereas it was he that begg'd for it, and made such Condescensions to the City of *Amsterdam*, that she consented to it ; so that to speak properly, 'twas she, and not *Lewis XIV.* that restored Peace to Europe. But in regard it was made without any great Precautions, and without taking any other Guarranty, then the Sincerity of a Prince who never had any, therefore it lasted but a short while ; and within the space of Six Years, the Peace-Restorer committed several Hostilities, took many Cities and Fortresses, so that there was need of a new Peace, and a Truce follow'd, to the end he might retain what he had usurp'd: Nor were all these Treaties Mounds sufficiently strong to restrain the impetuous Torrent. He breaks through all the Tyes of Sanctity and Religion, and falls upon *Philipsburgh*, the loss of which was attended with several other scurvy Inconveniences. Now upon what Foundation could the States of the United Provinces treat with a King that observ'd no Rule of common Morality, but broke his Faith, his Word, his Promise, even with the Emperor himself. Certain barbarous People, whom *Alexander the Great* would have oblig'd to swear Fidelity to him, return'd him answer, That they never swore any Oaths, but

but gave their Word, which they kept inviolably; from whence I observe that they were not *French*.

The Ministry of the Court of *France* imagines with it self, that *Lewis XIV.* not having usurp'd any thing upon the Republick of the United Provinces, during the Peace, nor won any Place from her, during the War, that it would be always an easie thing for their Monarch to make a Peace with her: besides that, the *Hollanders* are greatly inclin'd to Peace, by reason of their Trade, which is much obstructed in time of War; neither is it the Interest of a Republick, to enlarge her Confines, or to add new Provinces to those she has already, but to preserve United what already she possesses, and to secure her Frontiers the best she can. But tho' *France* may be in the Right, as to some Circumstances, yet is she deceiv'd in the main: For it is not so easie to make a Peace with the *Hollanders*, as the King of *France* imagines. Those People, tho' naturally good-natur'd and easie, are not readily twice deluded. That Prudence which never forsakes the Counsels of their Sovereigns, has seen, by the Consequences of the Peace of *Nimeghen*, that there is no trusting to *France*; but that all her Promises and Treaties were only meer Amusements, that is to say, a sort of Recoiling to fetch the

greater Leap: he must be a very mean Politician, and very dull-sighted, who does not perceive, that *France* had a great mind to have made her self Mistress of the United Provinces, their Wealth, and their Religion; those three things so precious and so necessary, that the Inhabitants neither can nor ought to lose 'em, but with their Lives. And therefore as they ventur'd all to purchase those Blessings, so they will use their utmost Endeavours to preserve 'em, as the most precious Jewels of the Republick. For the Hollanders are not like King *James*, who left the care of his Crown to the Count of *Lausune*, while he ran away before the Battel of the *Boyne*, and before his Person was in any evident Danger.

France knows not as yet the strength of the United Provinces, as being ignorant of what she can do, if once she be hard put to it: Seeing that if they could find the way, not only to shake off the Chains of Servitude, but to make head for several Years against one of the most Potent, and one of the greatest Monarchs of *Europe*, *Philip II.* and come off with Honour, why should the Ministers of *France* flatter themselves under this Reign that they are able to destroy 'em? 'Tis only because Men are apt to flatter themselves that they can compass what they desire; and generally they never
care

care to be disabus'd, in regard that Hope supports, and in some measure, satisfies an ambitious Mind. Usually the Court of *France* is crowded with Flatterers, who make no other Prayers then for the Glory of their Monarch, and sing no other Hymns then in his Praise; all their Opera's sound forth the Grandeur and the Conquests of their new Deity, *Jupiter-Bourbon*. They perswade him that he was sent into the World to reign by himself, and to subdue all the People of the Earth under his Dominion; they have given him the Sirname of *Dieu-donné*, or *God's Gift*, and they make their Oblations to the immortal Man, *Viro Immortali*. To which purpose they have erected his Statue in the Piazza of *Victory*, at *Paris*, to the end that all his Subjects should pay the same Homages to his Figure as to his Person. Marshal *de la Fueillade* would needs pay it the first Honours: For being a Collonel of the Foot-Regiment of Guards, he march'd his whole Regiment before the Idol, saluted it with his Pike, and order'd all his Soldiers to salute it with a Royal Volley; insomuch that at first there was no Body durst pass by it, without some kind of Genuflexion. And by that Statue it is that Men may make a shrew'd Conjecture of the Design and good Intentions of *Lewis XIV.* since he had caus'd to be engrav'd upon the Pedestal of the Idol, the *Hollanders*,

as well as other Nations link'd and chain'd together like Slaves under his Feet. By which 'tis easie to discern, as in a Mirror, the very inside of *Lewis XIV.* and his kind Intentions toward the United Provinces, in case he could attain his Ends. And he discover'd his wicked Purposes so openly, after he thought himself assur'd of King *James*, upon his Elevation to the Throne by the hasten'd Death of *Charles II.* that 'twas the publick Discourse in the Court of *France*, how they were going to fall upon the *Hollanders*, and that they would drown their Provinces under Water, to the end they might never rise again, to vex the King by their opposing his just Designs. This was the common Language of the Court, and he that should have contradicted it, would have been Empal'd after the Turkish manner. I must confess, that at present they see with other Eyes at the French Court, and their Language is quite another thing. 'Tis the main Business of the Court at this time to flatter and caress the *Hollanders*, by that means if she can to disburthen her self of a War too ponderous for a Kingdom groaning under Famine and many other Calamities; and which are more likely to encrease then abate. So that if the United Provinces, together with the rest of the Confederates, do but stand their station, tho' they should gain no ground upon the Enemy, *France* must

must be forc'd to condescend to what Conditions they please.

But say some of the more peaceful and quiet sort of People, what Assurances have we of being able to constrain the King who makes Head against all the Confederates, to restore to *Spain* so many Towns and Fortresses, and so well fortifi'd, which he has in his Hands, to the end the Hollanders may enlarge their Barriers? I answer, That in this War the King of *France* is in an Association with the Turk, who by the Diversion he makes, cuts out Work for the most considerable Forces of the Emperor and Empire: That the Ottoman Empire consists of a capricious and giddy-headed People, who have been several times of late, and indeed upon all the most considerable Occasions defeated, and that by consequence there is nothing of certainty for *France* to trust to on that side, who only sways the Port by the force of her Money, and a few frivolous Promises. So that there needs no more then an Insurrection of the People, or a humour of the Grand Signior, the Prime Visier, or the Mufti, to produce a Treaty of Peace and overturn all the Hopes of *France*. Besides, that if we do but consider the bottom of things, we shall find that this War which the Turk continues with so many Disadvantages, costs the French Year-

ly those Summs which they are unwilling to boast of. Secondly, *Lewis XIV.* alone by himself, is bound to pay and maintain above Four hundred thousand Men, to make head against his Enemies. Whereas the Confederates are not bound to keep so many Men in constant Pay ; for the supply of which, every one bears his Proportion : nor does he that is most burthen'd bear a Fourth part of the Load of *France*. 'Tis true, the Body of the Confederates is a bulky Fabrick, but it moves upon several Engines which makes it go the surer. Now I dare maintain, that 'tis impossible for the King of *France*, to act alone by himself, above Six Years, as he does, against a Confederated Body, without ruining his People. At the long-run, the Soldier turns the Citizen out of his House, and reduces him to beggary for want of Trade : The Taxes devour that little which the Inhabitants have heap'd up during the Peace. The Treasury fails because the Springs are grown dry ; the Merchant is ruin'd by his Losses. The Customs and Gabells, which were formerly the best and most ready Money the King had, by reason of the great quantity of Salt that us'd to be utter'd all over the Kingdom, must needs be very low, when People want Money to buy Bread more then Salt. And 'tis not long since that I heard one of the Farmers say, That the
Gabells

Gabells of Salt are fallen above half in half; and it is the same thing with all the other Farms in *France*. A Monarch without a full Exchequer, is like a Man without Hands and Eyes.

Of all the Sovereign Puissances at present in Confederacy with *France*, there is not any one can contribute more to her Ruine, then the United Provinces, and that two ways: the one by preventing all Commerce and all manner of Trade with *France*, and forbidding under severe Penalties the carrying of Provision and Corn to the Enemies Country; in regard that Merchants are greedy of Gain, and care not whether they supply Friends or Enemies: insomuch that 'tis said of some People, to express their Extraordinary Thirst after Profit, that if there were a Fair or Market in Hell, they would carry their Goods to the Infernal Gate, so they might put 'em off. The Other way to Ruine *France*, is to make themselves Masters of the Sea, which they might easily do in respect of the *French*, and by that means prevent any thing for going or coming out of the *French* Ports. Add to this, the Necessity that *France* is in to send for Horses into the United Provinces, to remount her Cavalry, which it is in the Power of the States with ease to prevent,

Besides all this, the United Provinces have had a vast advantage over *France* during the Continuance of this War, by the Trade which she has driven all along into the *Indies*, *Italy*, *Turky*, *Spain*, *England*, the *Baltick Sea* &c. whereas the French have only *Italy* and *Turky* free to themselves : for if they will have any thing from the *Baltick Sea*, they must put up Swedish or Danish Colours to protect 'em from the English. On the other side, I must confess that several Merchants' Ships of both Nations fall into the Hands of the French Capers, and a far greater Number then those that are taken either by Dutch or English. But then we must consider that there are a hundred English and Dutch Ships for one miserable French-man, continually trading upon the Sea ; and many times our Capers meet with French Prizes that are hardly worth the Taking. Then again the Number of French Privateers surpasses double and Treble the Number of the Dutch ; in regard that the French Merchants having nothing else to do with their Vessels, turn 'em all into Privateers, that so they may not lie idle. In somuch that all the Ports of *France* are become Nests of Pyrates and Sea-rovers only. Nor do we find all this while that their ill-gotten Purchases enrich either the Sovereign or the People. For according
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to the common Proverb, *That which is got with the Flute is spent with the Drum.* And therefore it is, that the Inhabitants of *St. Malo's* and some other Ports of *France* are not a little troubled, that they have no better employment then to addict themselves to *Piracy* ; but their Trade with *Holland* and *Spain* being quite ruin'd for the present, they are constrain'd to turn Sea-rovers for their Subsistence.

Now then we may assure our selves that 'tis so far from being the Interest of *France* to ruine and destroy the United Provinces, that 'tis the Study of all her most serious Policy to gain their Friendship, and inveigle 'em by fair Promises to accept a Peace, either separate or general, because the Intercourse between the two States in times of Peace, brings more Profit to *France* then all the rest of *Europe* besides. But this Peace is not to be obtain'd by *France* either from the United Provinces or from any other of the Confederates but upon safe Conditions. For to such a *Dilemma* has the Most Christian King reduc'd himself, by beginning an Unjust and Cruel War, neither provok'd nor compell'd to it by any other Motives then those of an Inordinate Ambition. So that it may be said of the Sun, which *Lewis XIV.* has made choice of for his *Impress*, that it resembles the Sun in *March*, which stirs and raises

raises the Humours of the Body, but has not Heat sufficient to consume their Malignity.

To say Truth, *France* may be look'd upon as one of the worst Neighbours in the World: for she lets no Prince alone that has the Misfortune to lie near her. So that after *Lorraine*, the *Spanish* Low-Countries and the United Provinces had felt the Effects of her Fury, she began again to prosecute her Old Designs upon *Savoy*. And the First course she took to get footing in that Family, was by the means of several Matches with French Princesses, to the End she might have her Spies and Creatures in the very Beds of those Princes. For that is one of the most Refin'd Pieces of French Policy for the King to make the Matches himself and to give 'em their Dowry, to engage 'em the more Cordially to his Interests. And at the same time he sends 'em home to their New Spouses, full of Great Idea's of the Monarch of *France*, and the vast Obligations which they owe him, besides that before their Departure, he causes 'em to Swear upon the Holy Evangelists, *That for the future they shall be absolutely devoted to France; that they shall uphold the Interests of that Crown at all Times and against all Persons whatever, in the Courts where they reside, and shall inform either him or his Ministers of all that passes in their Husbands Cabinets,*

Cabinets; and blindly obey the Orders that are sent 'em by the King, or given by his Minister residing in the Court. And then there is no reason to wonder at the Troubles which *Henrietta Maria*, and *Christina*, the Daughters of *Hen. IV.* marry'd by *Lewis XIII.* into *England* and *Savoy*, occasion'd in those Countries. The first never ceasing till by her ill Conduct and exasperating her Husband to act contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, she had brought *Charles I.* to an Untimely End ; and her going into *England* may be said to be as it were the Source and Leaven of all the Misfortunes that ensu'd in our days.

Leaving *England*, take a view of the greatest part of all the other Courts of *Europe*, and you shall find French Princesses who play their Parts with the Louidores of *France*. In *Tuscany*, we have seen the present Grand Duke, that he might procure his own Peace at home, send a Bill of Divorce to the Grand Dutches, his Wife, (who is a Princess of the House of *Orleance*) and return her back to *France*, to undergo the same hard Fortune as *Henrietta Maria*, wasting the remainder of her Days in a mean Condition, depending upon the Inconstant Humour of the King of *France*. To whom such a return cannot choose but be a tacit Reproach of the Misfortune befallen her
for

for upholding his Interests: But in regard that Large Consciences are all the Mode of the Court of *France*, they can never be injur'd by Petty Stings or little Keckings. If you look upon *Portugal*, you shall find there Mademoiselle d' *Aumale* marry'd to two Brothers one after another, tho' the first were alive at the time of the second Marriage. King *Alphonso VI.* somewhat morose by nature, and not willing to comply with the Counsels and Caresses of that Princess, the Court of *France* found a way to be rid of that Prince, who was banish'd to the Islands of *Tercera*, and his Marriage after dissolv'd by the Duke of *Mercoeur*, the Queen's Uncle, made a Cardinal at the Sollicitation of *France*, and sent Legate into *Portugal* with a design to cut the Nuptial knot (a Secret all this while unknown to the Pope, who was ignorant of the Contrivances of the French Court) and tho' that during the Three first Months of the Marriage it was given out that the Queen was with Child, yet they parted the Wedded Couple for all that, under pretence of Impotency, and marry'd her to *Don Pedro*, Successour to the Crown and her Husband's Brother; and if *Charles II.* of *England* would have consented to a Divorce between Him and Queen *Katherine*, the Court of *France* had design'd him the Princess of *Nevers*. *Spain* has several times experienc'd

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to her cost, the fatal Consequences of Matches with *France*: and his Royal Highness of *Savoy* at present ruling, had been within a Finger's breadth of losing his Territories, had he pursu'd his Journey into *Portugal*, to espouse the Infanta, at the earnest Solicitation of the Princess his Mother who is a French Woman, and by the Perswasion and Management of the Court of *France*, who were very Industrious to procure that Match, on purpose to remove the Duke out of his Dominions, and oblige him to stay in *Portugal* in Hopes of a Crown, while *France* took the Opportunity to make himself Master of *Piemont* and *Savoy*.

France has been a long time contriving and studying for a favourable Pretence to colour the Execution of this Design. *Harry* the Great in his time agreed with the Duke of *Savoy*, that upon his resigning up to him all the Pretensions that the Duke had in *Milanois*, he should oblige himself to conquer it, and afterwards exchange it for such Lands as the Duke held on this side the Mountains, which consist in *Genevois*, all the Principality of *Nissa*, the County of *Foussigni*, and a part of *Savoy* as far as the *Alps*; to the end it might be in his Power to call himself Master from the *Pyreneans* to the *Alps*. But the Tragical End of *Hen. IV.* put a stop to that Enterprize. How-
ever

ever it did not quench the greedy Thirst of the Court of *France*, which was rather encreas'd then abated, as we have seen, by what was aim'd at by the Match with *Portugal*, which Heaven prevented by a Kind of Miracle, his Royal Highness having already taken leave of his Estates.

The Court of *France* has always so narrowly watch'd the Duke, that she thought it impossible for him to escape her Trains, or to withdraw himself from the King's Pleasure, who had so near a Relation at the Court of *Turin*, that he had Intelligence of every thing which was acted there, and of every Petty Resolution that was taken ; and the main Business was to hold the Duke under the King's *Ferula* ; but above all, from holding any Correspondence with the House of *Austria*. And for proof of the Truth of this, it may be remember'd that the Duke of *Savoy* could not go for his Diversion to *Venice* with his Electoral Highness of *Bavaria*, but he was follow'd and watch'd by the Envoy of *France*, who was then at his Court, and who knew so well to work and undermine with his Louidores, that he was inform'd of all that past at that Interview. Which gave the First Occasion that Kindl'd the Fire of the War at present between *France* and *Savoy*. And tho' there be

a great Disproportion between the two Contenders, nevertheless the Duke gives no small disturbance and trouble to the Court of *France*, whether it be by the Alliances which the Duke has enter'd into, or by the Constitution of the Italian Climate, which has always cost *France* a world of Men, as having been always call'd the *Church-yard* for the French ; and notwithstanding the inequality of Puissance, the King has been constrain'd to keep up a numerous and chargeable Army on that side, to which he is oblig'd to send, at vast Expences out of the *Dauphinate* and *Provence*, his Ammunition and Provision, for their Subsistence. Moreover *France* never imagin'd that the Duke of *Savoy* could or durst have undertaken any thing against her. For which reason the Policy of *France* ne'er thought it worth while to fortifie her Frontiers on that side, to prevent in time of War the *Savoyards* from entring into *Provence* and the *Dauphinate*. Nor was ever the King more surpriz'd, or madder, then when he heard that the Confederates had got footing in those two Provinces. So that had it not been for the Accident that befell his Royal Highness, and the unhappy Consequences of his confiding too much in the Jesuits of *Ambrune*, which was in part the Cause of the Return of his Army, certain it is that the Duke had enter'd Victorious into *Grenoble*.

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The Dread of his March reach'd not only to *Lion*, but as far as *Paris*. A good part of the Inhabitants of the *Dauphinate* and *Provence* had already quitted their Country, but the Greatest part impatiently waited for the Conqueror's coming to deliver them out of their Misery, and break their Chains: but they were frustrated in their Hopes for the Reasons above mention'd. The Court of *France* always flatter'd her self till now, that if she restor'd to the Duke of *Savoy* some Town that she had taken from him, that he would be glad to renew his Alliance with her: Nay, she believ'd it an Honour which he would sue for; but she found her self deceiv'd. For she met with a Haughty and undaunted Prince, who would not listen to any Proposals that tended to disunite him from his Confederates: and besides, knowing *France* too well, his Royal Highness was absolutely convinc'd, that there was no relying upon the Promises and Word of a King, much less upon the Faith of his Ministers, who glory in deceiving those with whom they have to deal, if any Benefit redounds from thence to *France*. The Court of *France* had her Aim and her Prospects in her Offers which she made last to the Duke of *Savoy*, and it was the Strife of her Policy to bring him off from the Confederates, and to have render'd him liable to their Ill Opinion; who would doubtless

less have abandon'd him, and thereby have left *France* at her Liberty to have invaded his Country. For should *France* resign to the Duke all the Places she had taken from him, but keep *Pignerol* and *Casal* in his Hands, that were still no more then lying always between the Hammer and the Anvil. His Royal Highness therefore having drawn his Sword against *France*, that continually oppress'd him, it behoves him never to sheath it again, till he has procur'd his full Freedom, and secur'd himself from future Dangers, seeing he may well expect to be sincerely succour'd by the Confederates, who never will forsake him, but always stick by him as hitherto they have done. So much the rather, because they may be able in case the Catholick King dyes without Issue, to seat him in a better Station, to which he has already Great Pretensions by the Marriage of *Charles Emanuel*, in the Year 1661. with *Katherine*, Infanta of *Spain*; the Daughter of *Philip II.* So that by the Addition of *Piemont* to *Milanois*, he may take upon him the Name and Title of King of *Lombardy*: Which is an Advantage he can never attain to, if he depart from the Interests of the House of *Austria*, to embrace the Promises of *France*, which early or late will deceive him.

'Tis never to be thought that *France* will
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ever mend, or that she will act for the future with more Fidelity then hitherto she has done. To trust to her, would be for a Man to put a willing Cheat upon himself. The Black-moor can never change his Skin, nor the Leopard alter his Spots: So *France* can never help her Usurping upon her Neighbours: Ambition is an inveterate Disease that has seiz'd her, never to be Cured, but by the Prosperity of the Confederates. I know very well that they flatter his Highness with a Match between the Duke of *Burgundy* (the Dauphin's Eldest Son, and who in his Turn may wear the Diadem of *France*) with one of the Young Princesses of *Savoy*: but this is still to cast Oyl into the Fire, and give *France* a New Handle to lay hold on, who is ready enough to grasp all Advantages without giving her an Opportunity. These are Baits, which the Emissaries of *France* throw about at a venture, to try whether they will take or no. If not, however it fails not to make some Impression in the Breasts of the Ladies, who being Members of the Frail Sex, easily fall into the Snare, and willingly feed themselves with worldly Honours, never considering what they will cost 'em, nor the Dangers that attend 'em.

The Antipathy between the *Danes* and *Swedes*, whether it proceeds from any Hatred
of

of the two Nations one of another, or from Interest of Trade, by reason that the Dominions of Both Kings lie so close together, has in some measure parallel'd 'em with *France* and *Spain*. Which is the Reason that the King of *France* has always endeavour'd to procure their Amity ; or at least to have the one or the other on his side. And this has been his Care all along during this War, which began in 1672. at what time *Sweden* declar'd openly for *France*. Tho' he repented of it afterwards ; whether it were by reason of his Ill Success and the Advantage of the Electour of *Brandenburgh*, during that War, or the Infidelity of the Court of *France*, so far from observing her Word, that she never pay'd the Money which she promis'd to that Crown, but on the other side depriv'd the Northern Prince of his Dutchy of *Deux Ponts*. Which ill Usage lost the French all their Credit in the Court of *Sweden*, where they were afterwards look'd upon as Cheats : insomuch that the Good Correspondence formerly between those two Nations turn'd into Hatred and Scorn. After this Change, in regard the Policy of *France* found it Convenient to have one of these two Northern Princes tack'd to her Interests, she cast her Affection upon *Danemark*, and so well ply'd the Ministers of that Court with her Loudores, that now she governs 'em as she

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Pleases;

Pleases, and makes 'em daunce to the French Ayres. I must acknowledge that the King of *France* pays the Violins, but still *Lewis XIV.* has the Pleasure to see the *Danes* dance and foot it to his advantage. The Siege of *Ratzenburgh* cost *France* Three hunder'd Thousand Crowns, which were pay'd at *Hamborough*, upon throwing the First Bomb into that Fortress. For the Policy of the Court of *France* would needs venture that Summ at a time when she had little reason to have spar'd it, in hopes that this Siege would have made a notable Diversion, and that all the Princes of the House of *Luneburg* would have recall'd all their Forces from the *Low-Countries* and the *Rhine*, to defend that Place. But here the French were cully'd by the Danes. For the Difference was made up between both Parties, *France* not being able to prevent the Reconciliation, which seem'd to her, to have been Impossible. But this is not the First Attempt of the Court of *France* that has come to nothing: So that it cannot be said that she takes her measures so truly as never to be mistaken; as her Emissaries give out with high applause. For to hear them Chatter, a man would swear that the Resolves of the Cabinet of their Great Monarch were the Decrees of Heaven that never err; which *France* does often and more frequently than she would her self.

In the Present Conjunction, *France* ready to sink under the Burthen of a Long & Chargeable War, makes use of *Danish* Flags and Vessels, to get Corn and Naval Stores for her Men of War. In short, at present she embraces the *Danes* whom she contemn'd before, as her only Patrons and Deliverers to whom she can have Recourse : and she would fain have the King of *Danemark* declare War against the United Provinces. The Minister of *France* residing at *Copenhagen*, is continually beating his Brains day and night, to furnish the *Danish* Ministers with Pretences to begin a Rupture ; he promises Ships and Money to assist 'em, and that tho' it should be their Misfortune to come by the worst, yet upon the making of the Peace he would never forsake 'em, no more then he did the *Swedes* when the Peace of *Nimwegen* was concluded. The Loidores of *France* are most alluring Baits at the Court of *Copenhagen*, but their Interest so undeniably requires 'em to hold a good Correspondence with the *Hollanders* rather then with any other Nation, that only that Consideration out-ballances all the Golden Persuasions of the French Embassadour *Bonrepos* ; who having quitted his Religion to please his Master, labours by all the Artifices of Fallacy and Deceit, to become serviceable to him, in

acknowledgment of the Honour done him in sending him upon an Embassy for which he thought him a more fit Person than any Body else, by reason of his Employment in the Sea Affairs under the Marquis of *Segnalai*.

But that which most embarrasses *France* and *Danemark* both together, is this, that *Swedenland*, which is the far more potent Kingdom of the two, being engag'd in a strict Alliance with the Emperor and the United Provinces, and having also Pretensions to *Danemark*, will not be wanting to cross the Enterprizes of the Danish King, who, all things being consider'd, can ne'er hope for any great Assistance from the French, in the Present Conjunction. Moreover such is the Jealousie between those two Nations upon the score of Trade, that the *Danes* are always afraid lest the *Swedes* should be too hard for 'em, and agree with the *Hollanders* to furnish 'em with all the Wood and other Naval Stores, which otherwise they fetch from *Danemark*, and which would be a loss to 'em that *France* would never be able to repair.

If the King of *France* cannot oblige *Danemark* to break with the United Provinces, he is bound at least to procure as much Succour as he can from the North, and to make use
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of Danish Colours, to pass freely without molestation, with promise to reimburse all the Losses which the *Danes* shall sustain by their Protection: in regard the Danish Ministers readily foresee that so great a Number of Passports which they give, for Money, to all Vessels, and all sorts of Nations that desire 'em, must at length open the Eyes of the Confederates, and force 'em to put a stop to a Trade that only serves to carry Counterband Goods into *France*, contrary to Justice and Reason, and to the prejudice of the Treaties. *Bonrepos* does all he can to continue this Game, and he keeps by him whole Reams of Blank Passports, to fill 'em up in favour of those who desire 'em; and to encourage 'em to sail for *France* he gives 'em to some, and promises 'em to others, and bequeaths himself a hunder'd Times a day to the Devil to assure 'em of the Honesty and Sincerity of his Master. In short, that Embassadour takes a world of Pains; so that if he succeed in his Negotiation, the King his Master may well bestow upon him the Collar of the Order of St. *Lewis*, in recompence of his Toil and Labour, and in exchange for his Religion.

The Count *d'Avaux*, a Cunning and Crafty Minister, at present the French Embassadour at *Sweden*, is so well known in the World,

that we should do him wrong to write his Panegyrick. He acted his part so well during his Embassy at the *Hague*, that his Master sent him to King *James* to assist him with his Counsel during the Heroick Expedition of that Prince in *Ireland*. His Instructions are not altogether the same with those of *Bonrepos's* at *Copenhagen*, because those two Courts are not both of one Opinion ; and for that the Promises of *France* have not that Reputation at *Stockholm* as at *Copenhagen*. And therefore while *Bonrepos* presses the *Danes* to a Rupture, *d'Avaux* only sollicit the Court of *Sueden* to stand Neuter, and to continue their Trade with *France*, or instead of that, to grant Passports to such as shall desire 'em, to the end that *Sueden* and *Danemark* may be equally concern'd, in case the Confederates should take disgust at the Great Number which the *Danes* give out to all Commers. And indeed it is to be said, to the Praise of *Sueden*, that that Crown has always acted sincerely with her Confederates, and even with *France* it self, at a time when *Sueden* could not have reap'd any great Advantages by a Correspondence with her ; and when no less sedulous Endeavours were us'd to have drawn off the Court of *Sueden* from her. *France* has always courted *Sueden*, to remove the Obstacles that continually lie in her way : which is the Reason of that

Infidelity

Infidelity of the French, who break with their Allies at all times, when the Humour takes 'em; and well understand that *Sweden*, being so potent and considerable, is able to counterpoize Affairs, provided she will but concern her self: For in that respect she has always observ'd a very prudent Conduct, neither does she approve all the Invasions of the French. She knows the Truth of what *M. Lyonne* reports in his Memoirs, where he says, *That there is not any State, which is not bound to oppose the Aggrandizement of the Court of France; and Sweden above all the rest, seeing that if the King had taken the Low Countries, he would have taken no further notice of her, as believing he had no more Occasion for her.* This is a solid Expression and to the purpose, and ought to make a deep Impression in the minds of those who have prejudice against the Court of *Sweden*, either deluded by the Flatteries of the Ministers of *France*, or some base and sordid Interest of their own, which greatly prevails in the world, and leads a world of People astray. But certain it is, that *Sweden* has long since founded the Ambition and Arms of *France*, more especially at the Peace of *Osnabrug*; and if at any time she hearkens to the Ministers of *France*, 'tis without doubt because she finds some little pleasure in draining *France*, and doing her but little Good.

'Tis

'Tis also certain and visible that the Ministers of *Sweden* and *Danemark*, who reside in Foreign Courts, and more especially in those of the Confederates, are frequently and vigorously assail'd by the Emissaries of the French, on purpose to fish out, how Squares go among the Confederates, and may well retort upon the French Satans, the Words of the Lord's Prayer, *Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver from Evil*: but above all, from the Evil Spirits of *France*, that continually environ us. For indeed a man ought to be shod with Frost-Nails, to preserve himself from falling in such slippery Ground, and he that can surmount those Temptations, may well be number'd in the Catalogue of Upright Ministers, and Faithful to the Interests of his Master.

Corruption or Bribery is now a General Mischief in the world, but never any advanc'd the Price of it so high as the King of *France*: for most certain it is, that that one single Expence amounts to above Twenty Millions a Year. For it is a Thing past all dispute, that *France* upholds her self more by her Gold than by her Sword. 'Tis true, she is many times put to her Plunges in time of War, which dreins her Exchequer, and enforces her to advance her Coin; by which she gains considerably.

derably. Formerly instead of enhauncing her Money, *France* made use of another Stratagem, which was to coin *Louidores* rais'd in value, but mix'd with a baser Alloy then those that went current in the Kingdom, which were distinguish'd by a little Mark quite different from others. And some there are in the Court of *Danemark*, who if they durst own the Thing, could bring a Cloud of Witnesses to make it out; as having experienc'd upon several Occasions the full swing that French Knavery allow'd it self. I know likewise, that the Thing was murmur'd at, but the Cheat pass'd for that time, upon promise of doing better the next time. Therefore *Charles II.* King of *England*, who was well acquainted with the Knavery of *France* when he receiv'd any French Pension, which was usually pay'd him in *Louidores*, order'd the Receivers to cut 'em in two pieces, to see what Mettal they were made of; and then caus'd 'em to be refin'd into Guinea's. So natural it is for the Court of *France*, not to leave any Cheat omitted to defraud all those that relie upon her.

As for *Poland*, in regard it is a Kingdom remote from *France*, it can do her neither any great Good, nor any great Harm; nor is there much Trade or much Communication
between

between the Two Nations. Corn is the Only Merchandize wherein *Poland* abounds, and which it Transports from *Dantzick* into Foreign Countries. But the Kings of *Poland* may in some measure sometimes be profitable to the Designs of *France*, tho' it were only to molest the Emperour in many occasions that may and frequently do fall out. For this Reason the King of *France* takes Great Care to send an Embassadour with Money to the Dyets, upon the Election of a New King; or else if they are not marry'd, to offer 'em a Princess born in *France*; and 'tis very probable that the French Embassadour *Beauvais*, and Cardinal *Foumbin*, who was then at the Dyet in *Poland*, contributed very much to the Election of the Present King; for which he has not been ungrateful. However he was guilty of two Bold Strokes, which tho' they were greatly for his Honour, were no way delightful to *France*. The First was the King of *Poland*'s March to the Relief of *Vienna*, which was effectually perform'd with the loss of 60000 *Turks* to the great Grief of *Lewis XIV.* and contrary to his Expectation and his Wishes. And tho' some Remains of *Decorum* and Honour retain'd the Court of *France* from openly displaying her Resentment, yet the Silence of the French discover'd how much they were vex'd and mortify'd by it, at a time when all

Europe

Europe resounded with loud Acclamations of Joy and Gladness, and all the Churches, with Thanks givings to Heaven. Only the Sorrow of *France* notoriously display'd it self, by her Prohibiting the Bishops of the Conquer'd Cities in the Low-Countries to suffer *Te Deums* to be sung within their Diocesses.

The second Blow which his Majesty of *Poland* gave to the Contrivances of *France*, was the Marriage of Prince *James* to one of the Princesses of *Newburgh*, Sister to the Empress, notwithstanding all the Oppositions of the French Ministers, and particularly of the Marquis of *Arquin* the Queen's Father; wherein the Contentts grew so high, that the King of *France* order'd one of his Ministers to tell his Majesty of *Poland*, That since he could not hinder the Marriage, he would hinder the Prince from being King. But in these two Affairs the *Polanders* were guided by their real Interests; which was to bring down and ruine the *Turks*, their sworn Enemy and near Neighbour, as also assure to themselves the Amity and Alliance of the Emperour, and the Imperial Protection for the Prince his Son, when the Throne should become vacant.

But if the King of *France* prov'd unsuccessful in the main, he has had his satisfaction in Part.
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For it is visible that his Intrigues in the Court of *Poland* have a long time hinder'd his Polish Majesty from being Master of *Caminieck* : for what could else have hinder'd him but the French Louidores? more especially seeing the *Polanders*. ever since this War have had only to deal with a beaten, baffl'd Enemy, whom their Prince had defeated, and forc'd to rise from before the Walls of *Vienna* with Ignominy and a Prodigious Slaughter. Nevertheless these Great Advantages produc'd no great Effect; tho' the Pope still continu'd his Supplies of Money to carry on the War. But the reason is plain : for the Pernicious Policy of the Court of *France*, who was resolv'd to march to the Succour of the *Turk*, her dear Confederate, wrought so powerfully at the Court of *Poland*, by means of the Queen, and Great Presents, that the Louidores which tarnish'd the Honour of *Poland*, surmounted the Pope's Piety and his charitable Assistance both together. Moreover, the King of *Poland* being naturally Thrifty, and rightly judging that the Prince his Son may one day have need of ready Money, to hoist him into the Throne, had so much power over himself, and so much presence of Mind as to keep both the Assistance of *Rome*, and the French Pension. His Majesty of *Poland* who is a wise and an understanding Prince, knows also that Money is a good Moveable

Moveable at a time of Need, and by a Knack of Prudence, the Criticks may call it Pitiful, Mechanick, and below himself if they please, he provides an Apple against he comes to be adry. But if this be the King's Weakness, 'tis the Strength of the Prince his Son.

The Policy of *France* has this particular Gift, that it carefully studies the Inclination of Princes, the weak sides, and where lies the strength of those Courts into which she strives to introduce her self, and get to be Mistress of Misrule. Thither she sends such Persons as are proper for the Genius of the People, either as Publick Ministers, or private Spies. For Example, to send to the Courts of *Italy*, where Gallantry and Courtship abounds, such Persons whose Principal Vertue consists in hard Drinking, would be an Idle Thing, and spoil all. No, the Court of *France* is more refin'dly cunning then so; she reserves her Lovers of *Bacchus's* Liquor for the Courts of *Germany*, where the Temper of the Climate induces the People to drink, on purpose to steel their Bodies against Cold Weather, and there it is that frequently between the Pear and the Cheese, they strike the Home-strokes and do their Business, when the Wine has warm'd their Courage. As for the Court of *Poland*, 'tis a Place where neither Courtship nor the Pleasures of the Table

Table are predominant, but the Powder of Gold prevails with a witness ; and indeed not only there , but in most part of the Courts of *Europe*. There are few Courtiers and fewer Women, so void of Ambition as to be proof against the Attacks of Money : I mean, that can refuse to embrace his Interests, who courts 'em in Showers of Louidores. They are such Irresistible Temptations to those that are short of Money, as it usually happens in the Court of *Poland*, where Money does not tumble about proportionable to the Expence, and where the Courtiers are not so thrifty as the King. The French Men and French Women, who generally affect a Port answerable to the Grandeur of their Prince, many times sacrifice their Fortunes and their Honour, to render themselves useful to their Country ; and such are easily gain'd : A Director of Conscience works Miracles upon the Minds of such People : and therefore the Policy of *France* is very Careful to maintain French, both Men and Women, in the Court of *Poland* ; and the Ministers of *France* are so dextrous as to recommend French Men to serve him, with the Character of Publick Ministers in Foreign Courts, without any Expence to his Polish Majesty ; while *France* takes care to provide 'em a Maintenance ; and by that means, the Court of *France* is inform'd of all that passes,
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not only in respect of the Affairs of *Poland*, but also of all that comes to the knowledge of the Ministers in those Courts where they reside: those Ministers having sold themselves to *France*, and only acting and actuated by the Spirit and Counsel of *France* their Benefactress. As we have seen by Experience at the *Hague*, during the Residence of the *Sieur Moreau*; and of which the Proceedings against *Grandval* and *Demont* are authentick Proofs. We ought to be convinc'd, that *France* would never have pay'd those Ministers, but that she receiv'd some Benefit by 'em; more particularly in a time of War, when she cannot send Embassadors to Princes in Confederacy against Her. For tho' that *France* has not any publick Minister in the Courts of her Enemies, nevertheless we find she is inform'd of every thing that passes there; she neglects nothing, but makes a dextrous Use of the Weak side of Princes that are willing to listen to her, and takes her Advantage of all Opportunities. 'Tis the chiefest, and indeed the Main Policy of *France*, to surprize her Friends, as well as her Enemies; and therefore they had need be always upon their Guard, and always distrustful of whatever *France* proposes to 'em.

The Kingdom of *Portugal* since the loss of the Battel in 1578. was possess'd by the *Moor*,
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and after that by the *Spaniards* till the Year 1641. at what time *John* of *Bragansa*, assisted by *France*, and being the next Heir to the Crown, was declar'd King of *Portugal*; after a general Revolt of the Kingdom, which not being able any longer to endure the Oppression of the *Spaniards*, shook off their Yoke under the Reign of *Philip IV.* The Kings of *Spain* always thought they had an Ample Right to *Portugal*, by vertue of a Donation from the Cardinal of *Portugal* the lawful Heir of the Crown after the Death of King *Sebastian*, his Brother, who dy'd without Issue. That Cardinal being unwilling to quit the Priesthood, was push'd forward by the Sollicitations of the Jesuits, who besieg'd him in such a manner, that they never let him rest, till he had made a Donation of the Kingdom of *Portugal* to *Philip II.* King of *Spain*; which could not be done to the Prejudice of the Lawful Heirs, whom the *Spaniards*, contrary to their Politicks, suffer'd to live and grow up in *Portugal*. Nor did they lie asleep, but lay'd hold of the first Opportunity, as has been already said. And certain it is, that *France*, spurr'd on by her own Interest, contributed toward it with all her Power: for indeed the Policy of *France* requiring the pulling down and ruine of *Spain*, she could not take a better Course, then to dismember and rend a whole Kingdom from
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the *Spanish* Puissance; in regard that *Spain* decreasing in Dominions and Revenues, must needs decrease in Strength.

France, during the Reign of *Lewis XIII.* and the Minority of *Lewis XIV.* had great cause to fear the Strength of *Spain*, but very little, to be afraid of the Strength of *Portugal*, tho' separated from *Spain*. Quite the contrary, *Portugal* might well make use of *France* to molest *Spain*, which visibly decreas'd, and perhaps will never be in a Condition again to pull that Thorn out of her Foot; and to reduce *Portugal* under her Obedience. For after that Revolution which follow'd that of the Low-Countries, *Spain* languish'd away by degrees, and *Portugal* encreas'd both in Strength and Riches, and is become so Potent, that alone by her self she can make head against *Spain*, which at this day resembles a strong Man consum'd and wasted by Inward Sicknes and Distempers, and easily overturn'd by the puny strength of a Child.

The *Portuguezes* therefore, who are good Politicians, understanding their own Interest, leagu'd themselves with the Greatest Enemies of the *Spaniards*, that is to say, the *English* and *French*, who in a time of necessity might openly declare for 'em, if *Spain* should hap-

pen to be in a Condition to attack 'em. But now *Portugal* has no need of Assistance against *Spain*; much rather she ought to fortifie herself against *France*, which in this Reign has look'd with a Covetous Eye upon the Wealth that arrives at *Lisbon* from the *East* and *West Indies*; and I am perswaded, that the Court of *Portugal* is truly convinc'd of it. Which was the reason that enduc'd 'em, to the no small Vexation of *France*, to seek the Friendship and Alliance of the House of *Austria*, by the Marriage of *Don Pedro* to the Princess of *Nieburg*.

However the Policy of *France*, that understands without all doubt the Design of the *Portuguezes*, is careful at present to embrace the Friendship of the King of *Portugal*, to the end that during the War she may have the free use of his Ports, to fetch Provisions and Necessaries which she can have no where else. And we have seen, not long since, that the French Men of War wanting Seamen, and fearing to be attack'd by the English and Hollanders, supply'd themselves from the Coasts of *Portugal*. So that considering the Need which the French have of the *Portuguezes*, would *Don Pedro* and his Council make the best of so favourable an Opportunity, there is no doubt but the House of *Austria*, would grant him very Advantageous

geous Conditions, in case the Portuguezes would joyn with the Confederates, and declare War against *France*. And her Interest advises her to it; for that if the *Dauphin*, after the death of the Catholick King, should get the upper hand in *Spain*, there's no question to be made but he would revive the Pretensions of *Alphonso* King of *Arragon*, and *Philip II.* King of *Spain*: for by the same reason that formerly the Policy of *France* requir'd her to support *Portugal*, it would be then her Interest to ruine & make her self Master of it. 'Twere well that all the other Courts of *Europe* would do as *France* does, who foresees things at a Great Distance, and continually builds Designs upon a Basis of Probable Futurity: and for fear of being deceiv'd, usually forms three or four Contrivances which way to bring about one and the same Thing; so that if one fail, another may hold. This is a Piece of Human Prudence that not only prevents Surprise, but shews the way to undertake several Enterprizes, which else a Man would never have thought of. 'Tis a Maxim to be observ'd by all Sovereigns, to mistrust even their nearest Allies, and so to act, as if they were just ready to come to a Rupture; more especially they that border upon *France*, that never observes Peace or Treaty any longer then she finds it for her Convenience.

The City of *Paris* abounds in Persons full of Curiosity and Invention. Among the rest, there are a Great Number of old Practitioners, who employ their Wits, to get Money, in searching for Claims and Rights in Old Parchments, a good part of which has serv'd to feed the Rats and Mice, and to invent and set up Titles: so that if they are but largely pay'd, they will prove their Benefactors Descent from the Royal Race, tho' before that, he could hardly reckon a Groom among all his Predecessors. These Antiquaries tell yee, that *Portugal* is deriv'd from *Potus Gallorum*. Thus you see a Foundation lay'd for the French to pretend, that *Portugal* belongs to *France*. Moreover there are still to be seen among the Archives certain Ancient Registers (or if they are not there, they can find 'em elsewhere), containing the Expences that *France* was at some Ages since, in assisting the Portuguezes against the Moors of *Castile* and *Andalusia*, in the Reign of King *Henry*, who was of the House of *Lorraine*, and marry'd the Natural Daughter of *Alphonso* King of *Arragon*, who gave him an Army to conquer *Portugal*, or *Lusitania*, from the Moors. Now there would not need so much, were this Affair once brought before the Tribunal of *Metz*, which is the Sovereign and Irrevocable Court of Judicature to determine

termine the Right of the Dependences and Appendencies of *France*. However the Germans would have the first Right ; in regard it was to the assistance of that War-like Nation that *Henry* was beholding for the Conquest of *Lusitania*, as also of *Algarva*, which is the reason that the Germans enjoy such Privileges all over *Portugal*. But here's the Mischief of it, that if the Case should come to be argu'd before the Despotick Tribunal of *Metz* between the *Germans* and *France*, that Court would never do the *Germans* Justice.

As for the *Switzers*, they are compos'd of Thirteen Cantons, which are as it were so many Separate Provinces, free and independent one from another. These Cantons having withdrawn themselves from their Subjection to the Emperour by reason of the hard usage which they suffer'd under the German Governours, bethought themselves of a Democratick Government, which they have upheld till this present time after they had sustain'd several tedious Wars, and fought a great number of Battels, always Victorious, protected by Heaven, and by that means becoming so powerful as to be sought to by the Emperour and the Neighbouring Princes. They very rarely sent Embassadours to the Potentates, their Confederates, unless it were to renew an Al-

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liance, or upon some Extraordinary Occasion. However the same Princes have generally their Ministers residing among them, but more- especially *France*, whose Embassadour keeps his Station at *Soleurre*, tho' it be one of the meanest Cantons, and that *Berne* be one of the most powerful and the largest : for which we shall give the Reason in due Place.

Any Prince who desires the Assembling of a Dyet in *Switzerland*, must request it by his Embassadour or Minister there residing ; but he must pay for it : and therefore they never refuse it to those that desire the Meeting, which would not else be summon'd, and consequently there would be no notice taken of the Business there intended to be propos'd. This same Coldness, natural to the *Switzers*, makes me believe, that that Nation cares not so much for the Friendship of their Confederates, as for their Money. However it be, this must be agreed in their behalf, that they are not only faithful to what they promise, but stout upon all occasions, as we may see by fourteen Battels which they fought with the Emperour *Ferdick*, and three others which they won from *Charles the Bold*, the last Duke of *Burgundy*, and all the Brave Atchievements which they perform'd in *Italy*, as well for, as against *France*, under the Reign of *Charles the VIII. Lewis XII.*
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and *Francis I.* And for that reason it is, that since that time the Greatest Potentates of *Europe* have always sought their Friendship and their Alliance; and that the French have caress'd 'em with a great deal of Artifice and Money; not so much out of any Kindness which the French have for the Switzers, or for the need which they have of their Men in time of Peace, but for fear least the Cantons should enter into a Solemn Engagement with the House of *Austria*. For which reason *France* is careful to stipulate in all the Treaties which she renews with the Cantons, that they shall not send above such a number of Men to any other Foreign Princes, and those only for the Guards of their Bodies,

The Embassadour of *France* has made choice of *Soleurre* for the Place of his Abode, because the Inhabitants of that Canton are all zealous Roman Catholicks; who pin their Faith with great Submission upon the Sincerity of their Curate: and the Embassadour resides here, to shew the Particular Honour which his Master has for the Roman Catholick Cantons, above the Evangelick, and that the Monks and Priests may have free Access to him, who bear a great Sway among the Catholicks. Moreover, the little Summs of Money which the Embassadour scatters among

mong the Chief of 'em, procure him Creatures, that still will be inclin'd to the Interests of *France*, and readily stoop to the Lure. And by this means it was, that the French got leave to build the Fortrefs of *Hunninghen*, which as long as it stands, will be a Hook in the Noses of the Inhabitants of *Bale*, to lead 'em which way the Policy of *France* shall judge most convenient for her purposes. Nor is it long since the Governour of that Fortrefs made an Essay whether the Cannon of that Place would reach as far as the City, that he might take his Measures accordingly. For whatsoever Protestations of Friendship *France* at present makes to the Cantons, *Lewis* the XIV. had rather be their Sovereign, then their Confederate; that Monarch has a long time cast a Covetous Eye upon *Bale* and *Geneva*, and had e're this, been Master of 'em, had not other Considerations kept him within Bounds; and were he once Master of those Barricado's of *Switzerland*, the rest would soon be expos'd to the Misfortune of lying fit for his Convenience. He is a Fox; but he has Lyon's Claws; and he makes use of his Head to deceive the Catholick Cantons, under the Specious Pretence of Propagating Catholicity; but he reserves his Paws for the Protestant Cantons.

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There is no question, but that among the Switzers, among whom there are some who have travell'd and seen the World, there are to be found several Persons sufficiently quick-sighted & Politick, and such as understand how Things are carry'd. 'Tis not long since a Difference happen'd in the Canton of *Glaris*, which *France* first kindl'd, and fomented to the utmost of her Power; but *Innocent* the XI. quickly stifi'd it, by his Wisdom and Piety.

I am convinc'd that those Persons are deeply sensible of the Affronts which *France* puts upon 'em from time to time, and with what Scorn she treats their Embassadours, the last of which, were forc'd to return without being able to procure Audience of the King, after sedulous Applications to *Colbert Croisy*, Secretary of State for the Foreign Affairs. But the more prudent sort of Switzers, you'll say, would fain have the Lyon chain'd, and his Claws par'd before they fall upon him. To which I Answer, That the Switzers may contribute very much toward the Chaining of the Lyon, as furious as he seems to be, and yet not openly declare themselves neither; by demanding the dismantling of *Huninghen*, and for want of so doing, by recalling their Men out of *France*, which compose the greatest part of the French Infantry, and are the only
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Combatants well seconded by the Cavalry, upon which the French depend for all their Success. The King of *France* is now Convinc'd of the Value of the Switzers, and so has been, ever since *Louvois's* Ministry. Formerly they were not well belov'd at Court, nay, they were contemn'd; but since the Alteration of the Face of Affairs, they are at present consider'd, for the Benefit which *France* receives from 'em, like Twins that are ty'd together, and must dye together. I must confess that the Establishment of the Swiss Regiments is worth some Money to that Nation, and discharges the Country of abundance of idle lazy People: but I'll maintain it, that the French Service is the Plague and Destruction of vast numbers of Young Men of Good Protestant Families that ruine themselves by the Debaucheries of Wine and Women, which always terminates in a Revolt against their Religion and their Country. Which would never happen, if they serv'd the Protestant Princes. The Court of *France* knows well that she cannot fasten an Officer of Quality to her Interests with a stronger Tye, so as to make him absolutely forget his own Country, then by the Change of his Religion. And therefore she Labours underhand by means of the Women and Monks; and those Snares take Effect with the greatest part that are attack'd

tack'd by those Vermin, as was seen by the Example of the Two *Stoupa's*.

Not to reckon the more Inferiour Sort, all the Swiss Officers and Soldiers, as well those that serve in *France*, as those that are sent to the Mines in *Sweden*, I look upon 'em equally lost both to their Families and their Country; for they never return again, unless they make their Escapes by some sort of Stratagem: but it may be said, that the Pleasure and Voluptuousness of *France* is so great, that they are pleas'd with their Misfortune. There they are bred, and there they dye, to make room for other New Commers, who are Tempted thither like Young Pigeons with the smell of Roasted Dogs.

France has had no place from whence to supply her self during this War, but the Swiss Cantons: Some Seamen she may get indeed from the North: but for Land-Soldiers, of necessity it behoves her to caress and embrace the Helvetian Body, without whose Assistance the French would never be able to bring such Numerous Armies into the Field: And the Switzers are the Only Persons upon which the King of *France* may depend, so long as he keeps his Word with 'em, and that he pays 'em what he contracts for, and what he promises. Nor will

will they stand to the Losses of his enhauncing and re-inhauncing his Money. They must have their Money pay'd according to the old value set down and agreed upon in ther Contracts ; that is to say, the Louidores at Eleven Livres ; and the White Crowns at Sixty Sols. For the Switzers are thrifty Husbands, and send a good part of their Pay to their Parents in *Switzerland*, where there is no Variation of the Coin admitted.

Now it being so certain, as I have already said, that *France* stands in need of the Switzers in this Conjunction, this is the reason that the French Embassadour residing in *Switzerland*, has Orders not to disgust 'em, nor give 'em the least Subject of Complaint, but in every Canton to caress all those in particular who have the best Interest, and carry the greatest Sway, on purpose to prevent 'em from entring into a more strict Alliance with the House of *Austria*, the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of the United Provinces. For which reason it was that the French Minister us'd all his Power and Interest to stop the Levies which *M. Cox*, the King of *Great Britain's* Envoy would have rais'd not long ago. But if the Business did not then succeed, *France* is beholding for it to the want of Management in those that understood not the right knack of dealing with

with the *Switzers*, seeing afterwards others found the way to discover the forward Inclinations of that Nation toward the Confederates, by the Levies that were made underhand, which is a terrible Blow to *France*, in regard that those new Regiments draw away a Great Number of their fellow Country-men out of the French Service, especially the *Protestants*. However, we do not find that *France* dares to make any great noise about it, moderating and restraining her Passion, till a more propitious Opportunity: but in regard the Cantons on the other side may be assur'd that she Barrels it up, and that if at present they escape Scot-free, yet whenever it lies in her Power, *France* will never forget such heinous Provocations; therefore 'tis now the *Switzers* Interests to labour with the rest, the humbling *France*, now the Confederates are following her so close at the Heels. For the Lower *France* is brought, the more the French will carels the *Switzers*, and seek their Assistance; whereas in their Prosperity they slight and domineer over 'em, and would utterly subdue 'em, were it in the Power of the Court of *France*, that resembles Fire or the Sea, which never will acknowledge they have enough. But at present, the Policy of the Ministers prompts em, as the wisest Course, to temporize, and to oppose whatever is transacted to
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the Prejudice of *France*, rather by Remonstrances and Presents, then by Force and Menaces.

As for the *Turks*, they have been all along Enemies of Christ and the *Christians*; because the Gospel destroys their *Alcaron*. The *Sultan* takes upon him the Title of *Musulman*, or *Most Faithful*, as the King of *France* assumes the Title of *Most Christian*. Yet we know, that the Turkish Emperours have establish'd their Dominion by Cruelty only, and that their Throne is lodg'd together with the Blood of a Great Number of Martyrs, and an Infinite number of all sorts of People and Nations; yet notwithstanding all this, the *Turk* is at present the sole Refuge of *France*, and she embraces him as her only Patron: She is enter'd into a strict Alliance with the Ottoman Port; furnishes him with Money, Cannon, and other Warlike Ammunition; supplies him with Able and Expert Officers and Engineers, to the great damage of the *Christians*. And which was more pernicious, the Policy of the Court of *France* exerted it self to that degree, as to persuade the *Turk* to break the Truce with the *Christians*, two Years before it came to be expir'd, meerly to support the Rebellion of the *Hungarians*, who according to the Opinion of the Ministers of *France*, were to contribute toward the Ruine of the Empire and Emperour of the *Christians*. Had the Bishop of *Perefixe* been living at this time, he must have
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been forc'd to have recanted what he asserted in his History of *Henry IV.* where he says, *That the Valour of the French was made choice of by God, to support the Christian Religion.* Seeing that the Court of *France* labours nothing more earnestly then to destroy the same Religion. She never minds whether or no the *Turks* change the Churches into Mosques, or set up the Standard of *Mahomet* above the Cross of Christ, provided her Monarch satisfy his Ambition and become Master of the Empire.

Tho' the *Turks* are People both Barbarous and altogether Infidels, nevertheless they observe this Maxim, never to abandon those that put themselves under their Protection, and to keep their Words and Promises ; and this is one of the Points of their Law. And therefore it is, that they acknowledge that all the Misfortunes and Losses which they have sustain'd during this War, have proceeded from their Breach of Faith and Truce. And this it was which spurr'd 'em on about two Years ago to send their Envoys to *Vienna*, with Offers of Peace to the Emperour. Which hotly alarm'd the Court of *France* ; but she, being Subtle and Crafty, took an Occasion to insinuate into the *Turks*, That they might continue the War without any Scruple of Conscience, seeing they had offer'd Peace to the Emperour, that he had refus'd it, and continu'd his Hostilities against them ; That now the *Turks*

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were to look upon the War as purely defensive on their side ; and the French Embassadour at the Port, understood so well by **Considerable** Presents to gain the Grand *Mufti* to his side, who is the Oracle of the Ottoman Court and consulted in all Cases of Conscience, that the Infidel Pontiff embrac'd the French Divinity, and made it out to the *Sultan* and the People, after the Return of the Envoys, that they might continue the War without any scruple, and that their Submission to the *Christians*, was a sufficient Expiation for the Crime they had committed. Nor is it a difficult thing to persuade the *Turks* to these Things, who naturally hate the *Christians*, and are easily induc'd to undertake their Destruction, and so Self-interested, as readily to yield to the Temptations of Presents. Moreover their Extraordinary Inclination and their Interest to recover *Hungary* which they have lost, persuades 'em without any Reluctancy to embrace the Proposals of the Court of *France*, and to renew the League between 'em from time to time, upon the Assurances, Promises, and Oaths of the French Embassadour, that his Master will make no Peace with the Emperour, wherein the *Turk* shall not be comprehended. And yet all the World knows how earnestly the Ministers of *France* solicit the Confederates to make a Peace without mentioning the *Turk* in the least: and it was an Argument of the French at *Rome* to spur up
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the Pope, that a Peace would give the Emperor great Advantages, and strengthen him to carry on his Conquests to the very Walls of *Constantinople* (for which *France* would not be a little Sorry.) But when these Projects of *France* were made known at the Ottoman Court, and that the Grand Visier upbraided the Embassour with 'em, he appeas'd the Prime Minister by telling him, That what the Court of *France* had done in respect to that Affair, was only to deceive his Enemies, and to amuse 'em with Frivolous Offers, on purpose to put a stop to their Preparations against the next Campaign, and to make the People the more unwilling to contribute toward the War. It may be, some Persons well affected to *France*, take this to be a Calumny, and will not believe that the Most Christian King persuaded the *Turk* to break with the *Christians*. But to convince 'em, I shall here insert what pass'd at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, where *Lewis XIV.* espous'd the Infanta of *Spain*, renounc'd all the Pretensions which that Princess might have to *Spain* or the Low-Countries, and consented with an Oath, That if ever he Pretended to what he had renounced, that his Pretension should be accounted Null and Void, and that if he proceeded to force of Arms, he besought all Princes and Free States (observe the Expressions) to repute it unlawful, unjust, and wickedly attempted, a Piece of Tyrannical Usurpation against Reason and Conscience.

This Protestation is to be met with in the Sixth Article of the Renunciation of the King of *France* belonging to the *Pyrenean* Treaty in the Year 1660. Nevertheless, we have seen how *Lewis XIV.* brake this Peace so solemnly sworn in a few Years afterwards, immediately upon the death of *Philip IV.* King of *Spain*, on purpose to renew the renounc'd Pretensions of his Queen, which have since cost so much Christian Blood, and still are like to cost more before the Conclusion of the War.

These Things being consider'd, all Men must be convinc'd, that *France* fomented the War in *Hungary*, that she encourag'd the Turks to besiege *Vienna*, that she design'd the Dethroning of the Emperour, and to have set up her Monarch *Lewis the Great*, in his Place. But she met with many Disappointments. The Great Victories of the *Christians*, the Conquest of Upper and Lower *Hungary*, but above all, the Taking of *Belgrade*, together with the frequent Revolutions in the Ottoman Court, ravers'd all the Affairs of that Empire: and then it was that all the Persuasions, nor all the Promises nor Presents of the French could make any Impression upon the Turks; all the Policy of the Court of *France* was reduc'd to this last Shift, which was to persuade the Ottoman Port to continue the War but one Campaign more, and then if the Face of Affairs did not alter, but that their Misfortunes continu'd, she
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would consent to a Truce such as the Turks should think fit to make. This Expedient wrought well for the French: For in the Year 1690. the Infidels re-took *Belgrade* by Assault, which puff'd 'em up to a high degree. Nor was it then a difficult thing to persuade 'em that their Misfortunes were at an end, that Heaven was now going to punish the Emperour for refusing the Peace which they had offer'd him; and that to second this happy beginning, the King his Master or the Dauphin (who was call'd the *Young Su'tan* at the Port) would come in Person with a numerous Army; and make a Considerable Diversion upon the *Rhine*. But in regard the Turks have never yet seen any Effects of these Mighty Promises, the French Embassadour is forc'd from time to time, to bear the Brunt of most bloody Reproaches from the Lips of the Grand Visier, and to endure many a rugged Storm without going to Sea. And the least affront put upon him is that of *Dog*; *That his Master is a man of no Faith, and worse then a Christian; and that if he does not keep his Word for the future, the Port will make a Truce with the Emperour, and leave him to himself.* But these are Reprimands which the French never boast of; and the Embassadour has Flegm enough to stay till the Tempest be over, and never to return to the Charge with his Flamms and Excuses, till the first firing be over, and that the Grand Visier's

Fury be abated ; and then with new Presents he makes fresh Promises, and like the Children, promises to do better next time. A sad Conjunction for a Monarch, who believes himself to be the first and greatest in the World, and ranks himself like *Philip of Macedon* and *Alexander the Great*, in the Number of the Gods, to be forc'd to such mean Submissions, and to suffer continual Affronts and Reproaches from an Infidel, to preserve the Friendship and Assistance of the Turks. But this is now the Depth of the Policy of *France*, rather to Cringe and Creep, and become a kind of Tributary to the Ottoman Port, then to make Restitution of what he has usurp'd from the *Christians* : rather to allow Liberty of Conscience to the *Turks* then to the *Huguenots*. And this I have been assur'd, that *Chasteauneuf*, the French Embassadour, not knowing one day which way to appease the Grand Visier, offer'd him that Liberty in his Masters Name, and that he should give leave to the *Turks* to erect Mosques at *Tkoloun* and *Marseilles*. The same Offers have also been made to the Governour of *Algiers* in any place of *Bretagne* that he should make choice of, provided he would send his Men of War into *St. George's Channel* to rob the English and Hollanders. And if these Offers did not take Effect, 'twas because the Grand Signior stood in need of the *Algerines* to serve against the *Venetians*, and re-inforce
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his Fleet in the *Levant*. Nevertheless, these Offers fail'd not to work with the Grand Musti, who like the Romish Ecclesiasticks, loves the Propagation of his Faith and the Free Exercise of his Religion; and who being sweeten'd up withall, by some Considerable Present openly declar'd for the French *Sultan*. But as submissive as *France* is yet a while to her Ally, that she may preserve his Friendship, you shall see that he will leave him in the Lurch, and deliver him up a Prey to the Emperour, so soon as he can find a way to make Peace with the Confederates. And then that Separation would infallibly beget a War between the two Sultans, were the *Turk* in a condition to revenge himself. However his want of Strength to commence a War will not hinder him from loading the French Merchants that reside in his Dominions with Terrible Oppressions; and so the poor Merchants must pay for the Infidelity of their Monarch. But the Court of *France* never troubles her Head about That, provided she can but compass her own Ends. And for the Obtaining of those, she will never Spare for the Blood or Estates of her own Subjects, nor did she ever value the Lives and Liberties of so many poor *Christians* as have been sacrific'd during this War with the *Turk*, to the Ambition of *Lewis the Great*.

But we are now ascending if we can, to the Pinacle of French Policy, so high that few or

none can reach it ; that is to say, the Depopulation of *France*, and consequently the Ruine of the Kingdom for Religion's sake. For it is well known that the *Protestants* of *France* have always made a Considerable Body of that Realm, and tho' they have been Persecuted and Massacred under divers Reigns, more-especially in the Reigns of *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* nevertheless they have still reviv'd again and considerably encreas'd their Number ; yet always faithfully devoted to the Service of their Sovereign: and that Fidelity obtain'd all those Edicts of Pacification and Liberty of Conscience, which were granted 'em by *Henry IV.* and *Lewis XIII.* For as the Historians themselves confess, the *Huguenots* were the Men that fix'd the Crowns upon the Heads of *Henry IV.* and his Offspring *Lewis XIII.* and *Lewis XIV.* now Reigning, whose Crown, when he was Young and in his Minority, the First Prince of the Blood would have wrested from him, pretending that the Succession belong'd to him by Right of Birth after the Death of *Lewis the XIII.* openly asserting his Claim as well by word of Mouth as publick Manifesto's, at the Time of the *Parisian Baricado's*. Nor could the King himself forbear to give Truth her due, in several Declarations and Edicts, and by Letters written to the *Protestant* Princes. And indeed so Signal a Piece of Service, and a Devotion so faithful to the Person of this Monarch gave the

Protestants

Protestants all the Encouragement in the World to hope for an Irrevocable Protection, and an Enlargement of their Liberties & Assurance of Safety both for themselves and their Posterity, not only during the Reign of this King, but also of his Successors. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all these Signal Services, they only obtain'd the Title of *Faithful Subjects*, which the King affected to bestow upon 'em in all his Edicts and Declarations. Nay their Fidelity was so disserviceable to 'em as to create nothing but Fears and Jealousies in the Prime Ministers and Courtiers; and augmented the Natural Hatred of the Jesuits, who all together from that time forward meditated nothing more then to abase and ruine the Protestant Party, and inspir'd into the Young Prince distrustful Sentiments of those to whom he was beholding for his Crown; perswading him, that if the *Huguenots* were so powerful as to settle him in his Throne, they would be able at another time to throw him down again whenever he refus'd 'em any Privilege which they demanded. These Disturbers of the Repose of *France* having thus found the Monarch dispos'd and inclin'd to follow their pernicious Counsels, the Jesuits, Directors of the Prince's Conscience, fail'd not to improve those Sentiments so Opposite to his Real Interests and his Promis'd Faith; and for the Expiation of some Great Sin, impos'd upon him, by way of doing Penance, the cancelling some Privileges granted to the *Protestants* by the King his Predecessors, and with an Oath confirm'd by
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the Reigning Prince. And as it is usual for Scorn to degenerate into Hatred, the King having lay'd a Design to ruin the *United Provinces*, thought it then high time to begin with the Destruction of the *Protestants* of his Kingdom. And then it was that every Body study'd who should be most forward to second the Bloody Design of their Sovereign, and to invent new Torments for the more quick dispatch of the *Great Work*, as the Court of *France* call'd it: and the King himself could not refrain himself from saying, That he would have the satisfaction, in his Life-time, of having the Honour to destroy Heresie, and that he had rather leave the Dauphin a Beggarly, then Heretical Kingdom; and thus enflam'd, Men, Women, Children, Monks and Ministers of State, all cry'd out, *To the Sack, to the Sack with the Churches of the Huguenots*; and every one according to his Power lent a willing hand to the Diabolical Work. Madam *de Maintenon*, an Old Female Sinner, was the Jesuits faithful and sedulous she-Intelligencer, who for that purpose held their Cabals both day and night: the Marquis of *Louvois* sent away the Dragoons into the Provinces, and St. *Ruth* put in Execution with great delight the Cruel Orders that were dispatch'd from Court, and recommended to his Executioners and Hangmen the Care of tormenting the poor Creatures with all sorts of Barbarism and Cruelty. And while this Tragedy was acting in the several Provinces, the Chancellor *Tellier*, sent forth Declaration upon Declaration

tion against the *Protestants*, and issu'd out the Revocation of all their Edicts, Privileges and Liberties, with so much Satisfaction, that as he was sealing the Revocation of the Edict of *Nants*, he could not forbear declaring, *That it was the greatest Blessing that ever overjoy'd him in his Life, and that he could be content, after he had seen that happy Day, to dye*; and he was so impious as upon that Bloody occasion to repeat the Song of *Simeon*: and indeed God took him at his word: for within a few days after he deliver'd *France* from that same Monster of Men. However the Persecution did not cease with the Life of that Minister, who left very good Disciples behind him: for that Father *La Chaise*, finding one day the King in a Good Humour, obtain'd an Order from him for a General Massacre of the *Huguenots* all over *France*, grounding his Persuasions upon the Constancy of some of 'em, with whom the Prisons and Convents were cramm'd; and upon the Hypocrisie of the New Converts, who when Opportunity served, would be as so many Enemies within the Kingdom, and that therefore there wanted a little Blood-letting to cure the Mischief. And if this Order were not put in Execution, the *Protestants* were beholding to the Two First Princes of the Blood, *Condé* and *Conti*, who took it out of Father *La Chaise's* Hands, and return'd it to the King. This Persecution, which produc'd nothing but Hypocrites and forc'd Catholics, constrain'd a vast number of People to quit *France*, and retire
with

with their Effects into Foreign Countries, contrary to the Expectation of the Court, and the Policy of the King and his Ministers, who never intended to dispeople the Kingdom, as the Spaniards did their Country, by expelling the Moors: and for fear of falling into the same Blunder again, they committed another as bad: setting forth Rigorous Prohibitions, forbidding all People to stir out of the Kingdom, guarding the Passes and ordering all to be brought back Prisoners that should be taken upon the Frontiers, and filling the Prisons, Convents and Gallies with their Captives, which was very near the same thing as expelling 'em the Kingdom.

All this so barbarous and unheard-of Usage was premeditated, however, notwithstanding the outward shew of Piety, to be serviceable to the King's Design, as having been for some Years contriving the Utter Ruin of the *Protestants*: and therefore rightly judging that the Potentates their Confederates would never consent to their Destruction, in regard their Downfall would only serve to aggrandize *France*, and augment her Strength in order to the carrying the whole Universe before Her; therefore the Policy of the Court of *France* very silyly believ'd that the Persecution of the *Huguenots* would draw all the *Catholicks* into her Snares which she had thus baited with her Pretended Zeal. But the same *Catholicks* being more discreet and wary, and well acquainted with the Tricks and Finesses of *France* compar'd the French Zeal to Crocodiles Tears, that weep to draw Passengers within their reach, and then darting themselves upon their Prey, seize and devour it. Nay, the Pope himself smelt out the Cheat, and did all that lay in his Power to oppose it; as was apparently seen by the Business of *Furstenberg*.

But tho' the Event has shew'd us that *France* was mistaken in her Calculation, yet she still goes on with her Prosecutions of the *Protestants*, tho' less at one time than another, in regard that 'tis the best way for Princes to

go through with Follies begun, and for that the King's meaning was to make all *Europe* believe, that he had no other End then to make Profelytes, and to propagate the Catholick Religion, which is a thing that most prudent and moderate Persons of the same Religion could never perceive by what is past, nor discover in any Prospect of Futurity. Nor has the King of *France* procur'd the least Advantage to the Roman Church by his Oppressions within his Kingdom, or by his persuading and inveigling the Duke of *Savoy* to persecute the *Vaudois* with the same Severity ; quite contrary to the Sentiments of *Innocent XI.* who openly disapprov'd Violence in Matters of Religion, and who could not forbear saying, That at the same time that the French Embassadour made Bonfires at *Rome*, and rejoyc'd for the Destruction of the French *Huguenots*, That his Heart bled Tears of Blood : foreseeing that all those Forc'd Conversions would one day prove extreamly Prejudicial to the Church : and that the King of *France* did but dispoil himself of the Lovely Robe of Primitive Charity, to put on the Old Rags of Paganism, dy'd with the Blood of so many Martyrs.

Moreover these abominable Proceedings of *France* have only serv'd to render the *Catholicks* suspected to the *Protestants*, and to beget a Scorn and Hatred of 'em in Places where before they liv'd together in Brotherly Love and good Correspondence.

But what is more Considerable, and for which *Rome* and all the *Catholicks* will have just Reason eternally to reproach *France*, and complain of her Monarch *Lewis XIV.* is this, That he preferr'd the Advancement of *Mahometism* before the Support and Preservation of the *Catholick* Religion in *England*, quite ruin'd by the Dethroning of King *James*, whom he forsook in his Greatest Necessity ; more-especially seeing that unfortunate Prince had never fallen into such an Abyss of Misery, had he not follow'd the Pernicious Counsels of his

his Confederate who incens'd him to persecute his Subjects in *England*, as he had done his own in *France* ; and to alter the Religion and Laws of his Realm, to serve the Interests and Designs of *France*.

But the English, more Prudent and Circumspect than the French, foreseeing the Tempest that began to gather already over their Heads ; and of which the Consequences could not but produce a Shipwrack, like to that which had swallow'd up the *Protestants* of *France*, seeing that the Dragoons began already to cross over out of *France* into *England*, where there was a Father *Peters* animated with the same preposterous Zeal as Father *La Chaise* ; and a Chancellor *Jefferies* no less wicked and bloody than *Tellier* or *Louvois* ; the English, I say, beholding the Scaffolds erected, and the Fires just ready to be kindl'd, withdrew themselves in time from the Yoke that *France* was preparing for their Necks ; and by that Resolution for ever dash'd the vain-glorious Hopes of all the English Catholics.

In short, the King of *France* has great Reason to repent of Two Things ; his Persecution of the *Protestants* of his Kingdom, and his last Siege of *Philipsburgh*. For that those two Things were the Original Cause of the War, and the Basis of all the Calamities with which *France* is at present overwhelm'd ; and which daily augment beyond any Help or Remedy, which all the Policy of that Court, all the Wiles, the Artifices and Knavery of her Ministers, and all the Bigotry of her Male and Female Hypocrites can apply to stop their spreading, or prevent the same Destiny from befalling the Reign of *Lewis* the Great as befell *Antiochus*, surnam'd *Epiphanes* or, *The Illustrious* : there being so great a Uniformity in their Manner of Acting, the Beginning and Progress of their Atchievements, that we have great Reason to hope, that their *Exits* will be the same.

